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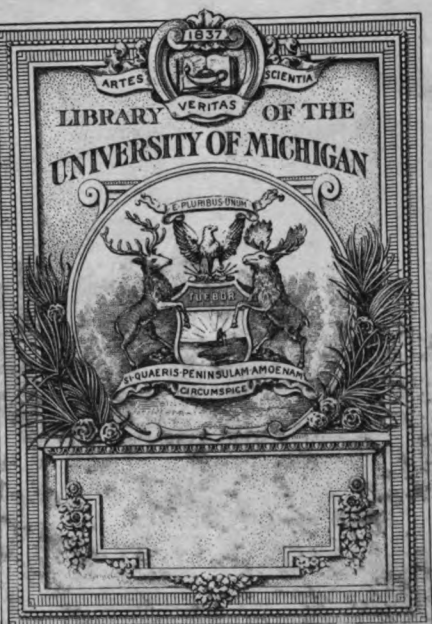
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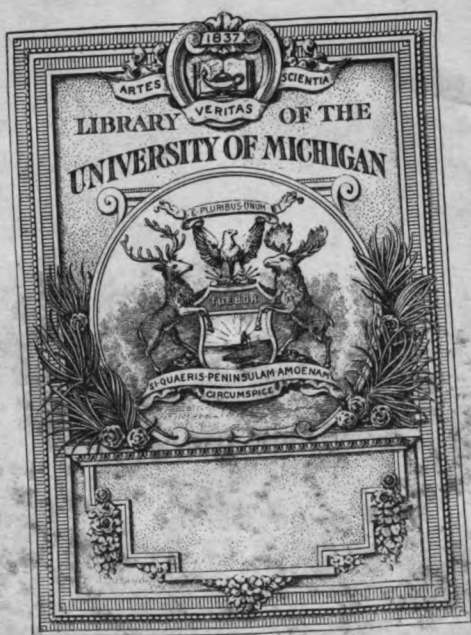
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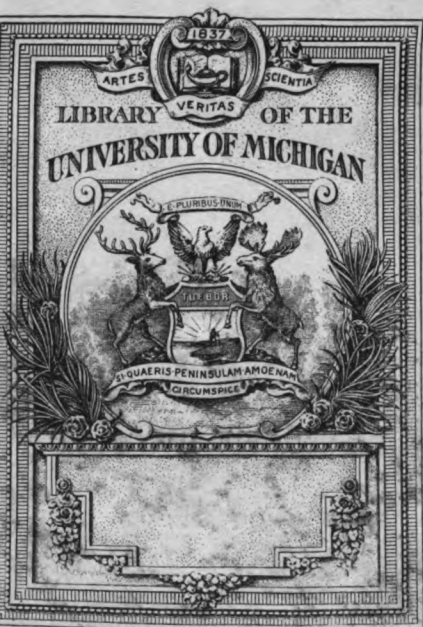
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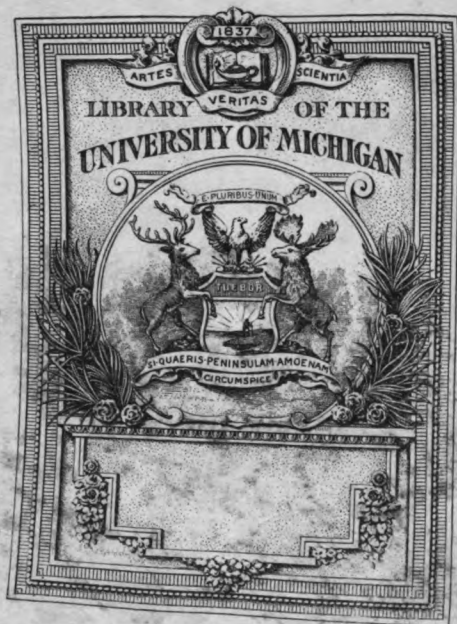












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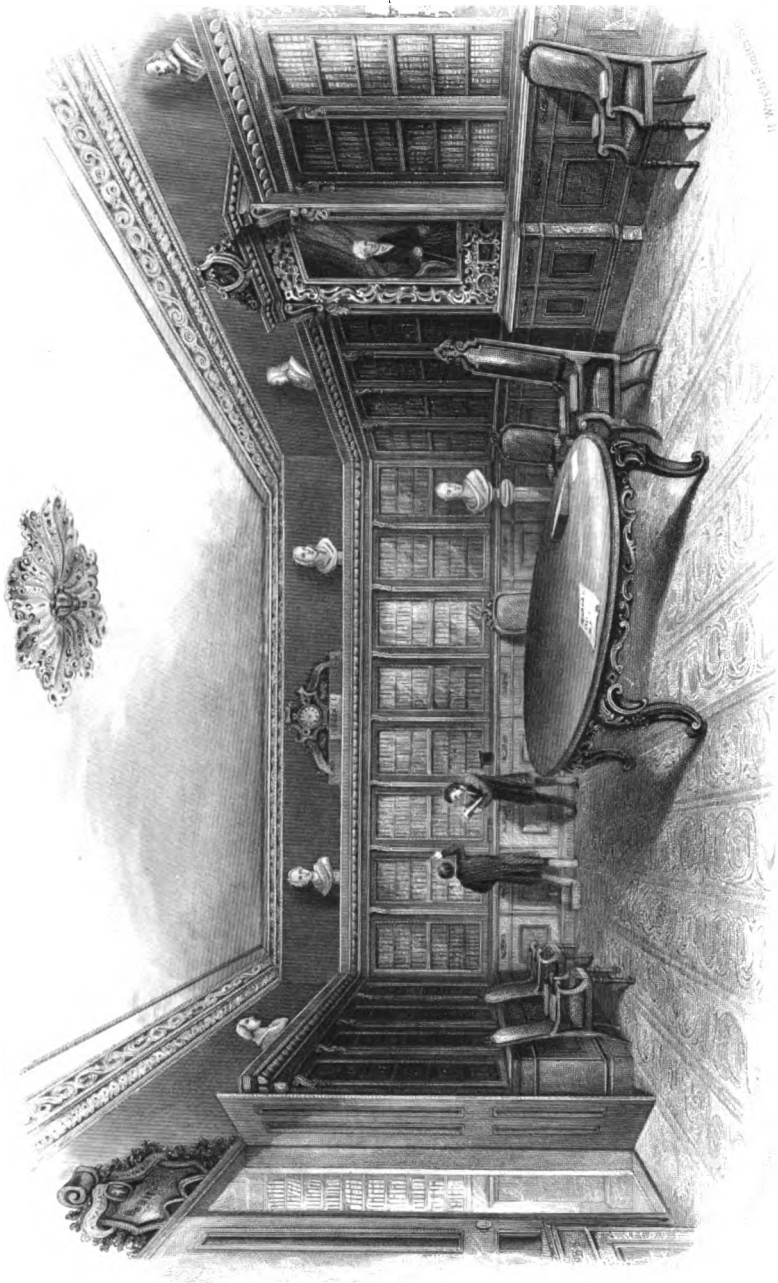
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

ALEXANDER McKENZIE.

CHARLES C. SMITH.



The General Library.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

66857

Massachusetts Historical Society.

SECOND SERIES. — VOL. XI.

1896, 1897.



BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCVII.

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JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

P R E F A C E.

THIS volume comprises the record of eleven stated meetings of the Society, from May, 1896, to June, 1897, both inclusive, and of a special meeting held in July, 1897, to authorize the erection of a new building. During this period the estate, a part or the whole of which the Society had owned and occupied for more than sixty years, was sold and delivered to the City of Boston, and a removal to temporary quarters became necessary. It has been thought desirable, therefore, to present as a frontispiece to the volume a view of the Dowse Library, from a plate prepared under the direction of our late associate GEORGE LIVERMORE, one of the executors of the will of Thomas Dowse, to whom we were mainly indebted for Mr. Dowse's munificent gift. The engraving represents the room as it appeared when it was first occupied in 1857, and as it remained until 1872. When the building was reconstructed in that year, it was necessary to open a door behind the President's chair to give access to the newspaper room built over the vacant land between the Society's building and the Probate building, and to transfer the portrait of Mr. Dowse to the place between the windows overlooking the burial-ground. The clock was placed over the main entrance; the Society's seal was removed to the wall over the door to the newspaper room; and Stuart's unfinished portrait of Edward Everett, the only portrait in Mr. Dowse's own room at Cambridge, was hung where the clock appears in the engraving. In all other respects the room re-

mained unchanged, except by the hanging of a chandelier, and the setting up, in 1868, of a bust of George Peabody, another of the great benefactors of the Society. Of the Resident Members on our roll to-day only fifteen were chosen before these changes were made; but with this explanation all our present members will readily recall the appearance of the room around which so many associations cluster.

Besides various matters connected with the financial condition and plans of the Society, the volume contains much of a more general interest. Of the miscellaneous papers, the communications by JUSTIN WINSOR on the Cabot Controversies, on the manuscript of Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, and on Baptista Agnese and American Cartography; by WILLIAM R. THAYER, on Youth and Revolutions; by SAMUEL A. GREEN, on the Early History of Printing in America; the diary of Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet at the Siege of Louisburg; the remarks by SAMUEL E. HERRICK and ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN on the anniversary of the death of Melancthon; and the tributes to the members whose deaths are recorded in the volume, are especially noteworthy. There are also memoirs of ANDREW P. PEABODY, by Edward J. Young; of OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, by John T. Morse, Jr.; of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, by A. Lawrence Lowell; of RUFUS CHOATE, by Clement Hugh Hill; of HAMILTON A. HILL, by Samuel E. Herrick; of WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF, by George S. Merriam; of LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, by Charles R. Codman; and of HENRY L. PIERCE, by James M. Bugbee, each of which is accompanied by a portrait.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, September 17, 1897.

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OFFICERS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 8, 1897.

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D. LINCOLN.

Vice-Presidents.

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD J. YOUNG, D.D. WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M. BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

SAMUEL F. McCLEARY, A.M. BROOKLINE.

Executive Committee of the Council.

THORNTON K. LOTHROP, LL.B. BOSTON.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.B. BOSTON.

CHARLES R. CODMAN, LL.B. COTUIT.

WILLIAM W. CRAPO, LL.D. NEW BEDFORD.

WILLIAM R. THAYER, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

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RESIDENT MEMBERS,

AT THE DATE OF THE PRINTING OF THIS BOOK, IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR ELECTION.

1860.

Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D.
Charles Eliot Norton, LL.D.

1861.

Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D.
Hon. Horace Gray, LL.D.
Rev. Edwards Amasa Park, LL.D.

1863.

William Henry Whitmore, A.M.

1864.

Hon. William Crowninshield
Endicott, LL.D.

1865.

Samuel Eliot, LL.D.
Josiah Phillips Quincy, A.M.

1866.

Henry Gardner Denny, A.M.

1867.

Charles Card Smith, A.M.

1869.

William Sumner Appleton, A.M.

1871.

Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr., A.M.
Edward Doubleday Harris, Esq.

1873.

Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, LL.D.
Winslow Warren, LL.B.
Charles William Eliot, LL.D.

1875.

Charles Franklin Dunbar, LL.D.
Charles Francis Adams, LL.D.
William Phineas Upham, A.B.

1876.

Hon. William Everett, LL.D.
George Bigelow Chase, A.M.
Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.

1877.

John Torrey Morse, Jr., A.B.
Justin Winsor, LL.D.
James Elliot Cabot, LL.D.

1878.

Henry Lee, A.M.
Gamaliel Bradford, A.B.
Rev. Edward James Young, D.D.

1879.

William Whitwell Greenough, A.B.
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., A.M.
Henry Williamson Haynes, A.M.

1880.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL.D.
Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, A.M.
John Codman Ropes, LL.D.

1881.

Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M.
Horace Elisha Scudder, Litt. D.
Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D.
Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M.

John Tyler Hassam, A.M.

Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D.

1882.

Arthur Lord, A.B.

Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B.

Clement Hugh Hill, A.M.

Frederick Ward Putnam, A.M.

James McKellar Bugbee, Esq.

Hon. John Davis Washburn, LL.B.

Rev. Egbert Coffin Smyth, D.D.

1883.

Rev. Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D.

1884.

Hon. John Elliot Sanford, LL.D.

Uriel Haskell Crocker, LL.B.

Hon. Roger Wolcott, LL.D.

Edward Channing, Ph.D.

1886.

Samuel Foster McCleary, A.M.

William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L.

Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, LL.D.

Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold
Allen, D.D.

1887.

Charles Greely Loring, A.M.

Solomon Lincoln, A.M.

Edwin Pliny Seaver, A.M.

1889.

Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D.

Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, LL.B.

James Bradley Thayer, LL.D.

Hon. Henry Stedman Nourse, A.M.

1890.

Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, A.M.

Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B.

1891.

Rev. Samuel Edward Herrick, D.D.

Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D.

Henry Pickering Walcott, M.D.

1892.

John Fiske, LL.D.

George Spring Merriam, A.M.

1893.

Hon. Charles Russell Codman, LL.B.

Barrett Wendell, A.B.

James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.

1894.

Hon. Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B.

Hon. Walbridge Abner Field, LL.D.

Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M.

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.

William Roscoe Thayer, A.M.

1895.

Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.

Hon. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, A.M.

Hon. William Wallace Crapo, LL.D.

1896.

Francis Cabot Lowell, A.B.

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.

Alexander Agassiz, LL.D.

Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D.

Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge.

1897.

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D.

Rev. Leverett Wilson Spring, D.D.

Major William Roscoe Livermore.

Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D.

Lucien Carr, Esq.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1871. David Masson, LL.D.	1882. Rt. Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, LL.D.
1876. Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, D.D. Hon. William Maxwell Evarts, LL.D.	1887. Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D.
1880. Theodor Mommsen.	1896. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, LL.D. Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1854. Rev. William Scott Southgate, D.D.	1876. Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, LL.D.
1858. Hon. William Henry Trescot.	1877. M. Gustave Vapereau.
1864. Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.	1878. John Austin Stevens, A.B. Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D. Charles Henry Hart, LL.B.
1866. Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D.	1879. Rev. Moses Coit Tyler, LL.D. Hermann von Holst, Ph.D. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, A.M. John Marshall Brown, A.M. Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D. George Washington Ranck, Esq.
1869. Charles Janeway Stillé, LL.D. M. Jules Marcou.	1880. James McPherson Le Moine, Esq. Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L. Henry Adams, A.B.
1870. Charles Jeremy Hoadly, LL.D. John Foster Kirk, LL.D.	
1873. Hon. Manning Ferguson Force, LL.D.	
1875. Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D. Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. Hubert Howe Bancroft, A.M.	

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CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

xix

1881.

Julius Dexter, LL.B.
Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D.
Hon. William Wirt Henry.
Vicomte d'Haussonville.

1883.

Rev. Charles Richmond Weld, LL.D.
Herbert Baxter Adams, Ph.D.
Signor Cornelio Desimoni.

1885.

Hon. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry,
LL.D.
Amos Perry, LL.D.

1886.

Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay.

1887.

Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, D.D.
John Andrew Doyle, M.A.

1891.

Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain,
Litt. D.
Alexander Brown, Esq.

1894.

John Nicholas Brown, Esq.
Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L.
Hon. Jacob Dolson Cox, LL.D.

1896.

Leslie Stephen, LL.D.
Hon. James Burrill Angell, LL.D.
William Babcock Weeden, A.M.
Richard Garnett, LL.D.

1897.

Rev. George Park Fisher, D.D.
Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.
Joseph Williamson, Litt. D.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

*Members who have died since the last volume of Proceedings was issued, June 1, 1896,
arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.*

Resident.

Rev. Lucius Robinson Paige, D.D.	Sept. 2, 1896.
Hon. George Silsbee Hale, A.M.	July 27, 1897.
Hon. Theodore Lyman, LL.D.	Sept. 9, 1897.
Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.	May 14, 1897.
Francis Amasa Walker, LL.D.	Jan. 5, 1897.
George Otis Shattuck, LL.B.	Feb. 23, 1897.
Edward Lillie Pierce, LL.D.	Sept. 6, 1897.
Hon. Henry Lillie Pierce	Dec. 17, 1896.

Honorary.

Marquis de Rochambeau	Sept. 4, 1897.
Ernst Curtius	July 11, 1896.

Corresponding.

James Hammond Trumbull, LL.D.	Aug. 5, 1897.
Hon. John Meredith Read, A.M.	Dec. 27, 1896.
Horatio Hale, A.M.	Dec. 28, 1896.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting was read and approved, and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the month.

The President appointed as members of the Committee from the Society at large, authorized by a vote passed at the Annual Meeting,¹ the following-named gentlemen: Henry P. Walcott, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and T. Jefferson Coolidge.

Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG communicated his memoir of the late Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody.

Dr. Samuel A. Green presented, in behalf of Mr. JOHN T. MORSE, Jr., who was absent, the memoir of Oliver Wendell Holmes, D. C. L., prepared by Mr. Morse for publication in the Proceedings.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said:—

A number of years ago I detached from the Winthrop Papers and gave to the Essex Institute at Salem some manuscripts of great importance relating to the early history of Ipswich, which seemed to me desirable to preserve permanently in the county of Essex, where they would naturally be most valued and appreciated. This has led to a recent application to me from the local Historical Society at Ipswich,—a Society

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. x. p. 585.

which, I am glad to learn, is now in a flourishing condition, — for an autograph letter of John Winthrop, Jr., the founder of that ancient town. There are in existence numerous letters of his written either in Connecticut or in Europe, but few of his Ipswich letters have been preserved, and the dates of these latter, as a rule, are accompanied by no name of place. I succeeded, however, in finding one dated "Agawam, July 20, 1634," and in accordance with the rule long ago established by my father and self that any unpublished material from the Winthrop Papers should be at the disposal of this Society before original manuscripts were given elsewhere, I now communicate this letter, which is of little importance other than in its reference to the needs of the infant settlement, and a scheme of the writer for exchanging beaver-skins for goats. I similarly communicate and intend to give to the same local Society a curious inventory of personal effects left at Ipswich by John Winthrop, Jr., some six months later, when, after the death of his first wife, he had gone to England on colonial business. To students of domestic life in New England at that very early period it is a document well worthy of attention; and it bears the endorsement of John Winthrop the elder, who appears to have caused it to be prepared in his son's absence, and whose diary contains an account of the latter's shipwreck on the coast of Ireland not long afterward.

I take this opportunity also to communicate a wholly different letter, which would have been printed at least fifteen years ago but for its accidental disappearance. Mr. Smith and I were then engaged on the first of the three volumes of selections from these papers, which we successively edited for the Society; and in it (5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii.) we took pains to include all the letters of Stephen Winthrop known by us to exist, with the exception of a few trivial ones. There has recently come to light, however, a noteworthy letter of his, formerly put aside by my father for the purpose of publication, and then forgotten. It is dated in London, July 29, 1647, and contains a short but graphic account of the dissensions prevailing between Parliament and the Army, together with a detailed statement of the reasons which induced the writer to continue in command of a troop of horse under Cromwell, instead of returning to Boston according to his original intention. My father's life of

John Winthrop was written five-and-thirty years ago, and he was then unable to explain how it happened that a younger son of the Governor, who had twice visited Europe on purely commercial errands, should have without apparent reason embraced a military career, in which he subsequently attained considerable distinction. This letter furnishes the needed explanation.

The papers communicated by Mr. Winthrop here follow:—

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

To the right worth my much honored father John Winthrop Esq. dd in Boston.

S^r— I have cast up the account of the remainder wth is yet behind of the goods that M^r Kirby sent over; it amounteth to 44^{li} 14^s, whereof the 3^d p^{ts} deducted there remaineth 29^{li} 16^s to be returned for England, wth is to be equally divided betwixt my uncle Downing & M^r Kirby. I pray be pleased to send a bill for the s^d 29^{li} 16^s to M^r Kirby to be receieved of my uncle Downing wth directions to him to pay himselfe his owne third part. I have to this purpose written to M^r Kirby to rec^t it & sent him a full account of all things.

I understand that a Virginia pinnace hath brought over many goats, if you please I would desire you to buy some of hir goats for some of these trucking coats if he will exchange; they may be valued I thinke at about 20^s a coat pt.¹ It may be he would take all the other things. They stand in above 44^{li}, I thinke they may be valled altogether at about 60^{li} or dearer if his goats be deare.

I received some corne by John Gallop, I thanke you for it. I understand by him that you would have bought some English meale for me, but I pray doe not, for if you please to send me corne my mē shall beate it if I cannot have some ground; only I desire to have 2 or 3 bushell ground if it can be because I have borrowed some on cōdition to pay in meale againe. If any pinnace come I pray be pleased to remēber us wth some munition ordnance, muskets, carbines, pikes & such as are to be had.

Thus wth my duty & my wives to your selfe and my mother, saluting my brothers, cozens & freinds, I humbly take my leave & rest

Your obedient son,

AGAWAM, July 20: 1634.

JOHN WINTHROP.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop: "Sonne Winth: about the trading stuffe."

¹ The word "coats" is used for beaver and other skins. See letters from Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr., in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, 3d series, vol. ix. Kirby was a merchant in London who was actively interested in forwarding supplies to New England. His wife was sister to Emmanuel Downing.

An Inventorie of Mr Winthropps goods of Ipswich.

Imp^r; In the Cham^r ov^r the Parlor 1 feath^r bed 1 banckett 1 cov^r-
lett 1 blew rugg 1 boster & 2 pillowes

¶ 1 trunck marked wth R W F¹ wherein is

1 mantle of silk wth gld lace

1 holland tablecloth some 3 yds long

1 pr /// holl (twilled holland?) sheets

1 pillobear half full of childs linning etc²

5 childs blanketts whereof 1 is bare million [vermillion?]

1 cushion for a child of chamlett

1 cours table cloth 3 y^{ds} long

6 croscloths & 2 gnaves (?)

9 childs bedds (beeds?) 2 duble clouts 1 p^r holl sleeves

4 apons whereof 1 is laced

2 smocks 2 p^r sheets 1 napkin

1 whit square chest wherein is

1 doz dyp (diaper?) napkins 1 damsk napkin

1 doz holl napkins

2 doz & 2 napkins

2 cuberd cloths

11 pillowbeares

11 /// (twilled?) napkins

2 table cloths

4 towills

1 /// holl shirt

2 dyp towills

3 dyp table cloths

1 p^r /// holl sheets

1 long great chest where in is

1 black gowne tam'y [taminy, a sort of woollen cloth]

1 gowne sea greene

1 childs baskett

2 old petticotts 1 red [*illeg.*] 1 sand coll^r serg

1 p^r leath^r stockings 1 muff

1 window cushion

5 quishion cases 1 small pillowe

1 peece stript linsy woolcy

1 p^r boddyes

¹ The initials were probably A. W. F. (Anne Winthrop Fones, mother of Mrs. John Winthrop, Jr.).

² The child repeatedly referred to in this inventory was the little daughter of John Winthrop, Jr., who, with her mother, had died in Ipswich not long before.

1 tapstry cov^rlett
 1 peece lininge stuff for curtains
 1 red bayes cloake for a woman
 1 p^r of sheets

In the Cham^r ov^r the kychin

1 feath^r bed 1 boster 1 pillowe 2 blanketts 2 ruggs bl & w^t
 2 floq bedds 5 ruggs 2 bolsters 1 pillowe
 1 broken warming-pan

In the Garrett Cham^r ov^r the Storehowse

maney small things glasses potts &c

In the Parlor

1 bedsted 1 trundle bedsted wth curtains & vallences
 1 table & 6 stooles
 1 muskett 1 small fowleing peece wth rest & bandeleer
 # 1 trunke of pewter
 # 1 cabbinnett wherein the servants say is
 rungs (rings?) iewills 13 silv^r spoones this I cannot open
 # 1 cabbinnett of Surgerie

In the kytchin

1 brass baking pan
 5 milk pans
 1 small pestle & mortar
 1 steele mill
 14 musketts rests & bandealers
 2 iron kettles 2 copp^r 2 brasse kettles
 1 iron pott
 2 bl jacks
 2 skillitts whereof 1 is brasse
 4 poringors
 1 spitt 1 grat^r
 1 p^r racks 1 p^r andirnes 1 old iron rack
 1 iron pole 1 grediron 1 p^r tongs
 2 brass ladles 1 pr bellowes
 2 stills wth bottums

In M^r Wards hands¹

1 silv^r cupp 6 spoones 1 salt of silver

In the ware howse

2 great chests naled upp
 1 chest 1 trunk wth I had ord^r not to open

¹ Evidently Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich.

1 chest of tooles
 ‡ 6 cowes 6 steeres 2 heiffers
 ‡ dyvⁿ peeces of iron & steela.

P^r me WILL CLARKE

Indorsed by Gov. John Winthrop: "Innyer (?) of my sones goods [*illeg.*]"

STEPHEN WINTHROP TO HIS FATHER.

LONDON, 29 July 1647.

SIR, — It hath pleased God to [thwart] all my purposes & endeavours to come back to N: E: at p^rsent. Neither my unckle¹ nor my-selfe can find out any means to sattisfie o^r credito^r though they are not many. We have had hopes by sundry means & p^{ro}pos^{als} but still they faile us; & they will not consent to o^r goeing to N: E: so y^t it is meerly y^e hand of God to stay me. My hartt was as fully carried to goe in this shipp as ever to anything, but I desire to submitt to y^e will of God, as I hope yo^rself & all to whom I am related desire to doe. Things standing thus & P^rvidence opening a way of employ^{ment} in y^e Army, I have accepted of it seeing noe dore open to me anywhere else of being serviceable in my generation or of gaining better subsistance to those God hath comitted to my care, & hope I shall not be lesse inabled to be a comfort or helpe to yo^r selfe, my mother & brethren. The kingdom is now upō a great turne. God is doing some great worke, for when the Adversarys were wth all violence setting up injustice & psecution of the saints it pleased God by the Army to put them to a stand & quite turned the buyas of their pceedings, so farre as y^t they daylie unvote what formerly they did vote & are contented to have y^e House purged, y^e heads of y^e faccōn impeached & suspended, & suddenly will come to triall. By y^e passingers & books you will have y^e p^{ar}ticulars at larg. I thank God I am free in my spirit to ingag in wth y^e Army hath ppounded, & indeed the gen^{er}allity of the honest p^{er}sons in y^e countyes & cittyes, so y^t I question not but y^t there wilbe a p^{er}sperous & speedy effect of their just endeavours. A committy of Parl^{mt} & Citty are wth y^e Army upō treaty, but not fully concluded. Things standing thus I think it is my duty to send for my wife & waite wth God in his P^rvidence may sorte out for me. I am not borne for my selfe & if I may be serviceable & fervid in a way of advancing God's kingdome it is all I desire & I shall not question but God will p^rvide for mee. I desire y^e litle I have in N: E: may be improved upō my land there. I desire not to draw any thing backe more then may pay my debts. I desire one of my children may stay wth you & I am confident y^t God will either dispose of things so as I shall come to you againe, or else y^t you & many others will have a call hither. I can say no more

¹ Emmanuel Downing, then in England on business.

but y^t I am willing his will should be done, however hard to flesh & blood. I hope y^e Country will make me some recompence for y^e mony I have been out in their deffence ag^t y^e Auldman.¹ Cambridge men oweth me 65^s long since, wth I hope they make conscience to pay, for I held no p^t of the shipp. If M^r Anger be not sattisfied I shalbe willing to respit it, so it be settled by some bill of their hand &c. I have nought else to inlarg upō. I have more need than ever of yo^r prayers & blessing, & pray rember my respects to o^r Elders & friends & sattisfie wth cause of my stay so farre as is meet, & I pray put my brother Adam in mind of M^r Dixon his buisnes. My service to y^r Mag^{ties} & all my acquaintance; it is my grief I cannot be wth them. They are all well at Groton & Chemsye House. I know not w^t to write more but again & again to crave yo^r prayer y^t I may live to y^e honor of God, ye comfort of my relations, & ever remaine

Yo^r dutifull sonne,

ST. WINTHROP.

M^r Ward hath made himselfe odious & rediculous heere by books & sermons.² My cosin Parks hath been a good friend to me & if you cann doe his sonne any kindnes there, pray doe it.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR referred to the statement in the preface of the index volume of the Pickering Papers that the manuscripts of Timothy Pickering as quartermaster-general of the Revolutionary Army were bought in Germany by the United States Government. He said it was a misconception. The papers in question, after Pickering's term of service, were left in the hands of one Hodgdon, a private secretary, and were found some time in the Forties in the hands of Hodgdon's heirs by Arad Joy, of Ovid, New York, who at that time was searching for evidence as to military service of a Revolutionary soldier. Mr. Joy bought for \$100 about one-half of the collection, or those before 1785. What he secured embraced about 10,000 letters, including 75 of Washington, 100 of Hamilton, and others of Lafayette and other prominent characters, beside a large mass of ledgers, letter-books, diaries, and orderly-books. Mr. Joy, at a later day, offered them to the Government for \$5,000, but they were declined. They were finally sent to Professor C. A. Joy, of Columbia College, a son of the owner ;

¹ For references to a lawsuit with Alderman Buckley, or Barkly, of London, see 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 200, 205. See also Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., vol. ii. p. 248.

² Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, who had then recently returned to England.

and while in his possession they were brought to the attention of George Bancroft, George H. Moore, and other students of American history, and at last to the notice of the War Department, which finally bought them for \$10,000 in 1873.

The misconception of their having been found in Germany probably rose in this way. About ten years ago I learned, said Mr. Winsor, of their former existence in Ovid from an old newspaper scrap, and on making inquiry through the Assemblyman who represented Ovid at Albany, I could learn nothing of their ultimate disposition. Knowing that Professor Joy was from that neighborhood, I wrote to him—he was then living in Munich—and got the history of the collection. On applying to Mr. Endicott, then Secretary of War, for permission to examine the papers, I was told that on inquiry he could not find that any such papers were in the departments. I next communicated with a friend in the Department of State, who, with the aid of a clerk in the War Office, finally rediscovered them in a closet. By an arrangement then entered upon between Mr. Endicott and Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, the collection was transferred for better keeping to the Department of State, where it now is.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then read for Mr. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, who was necessarily absent, the following remarks by way of report on a manuscript index to the Early Colony Laws, found among the Winthrop Papers, and referred to Mr. Whitmore at the last meeting of the Society.

Mr. President,—At the last meeting of the Society there was referred to me an ancient manuscript Index of our Laws for identification. Examination proves that the references are to the first printed edition of the Colony Laws in 1649, though no copy of the book has reached this generation.

In the Introduction to the Laws of 1672, printed by the city of Boston in 1890, I brought together fifty-three references to this first edition, by titles and often by pages. This manuscript has thirty-three similar references, of which thirteen coincide with mine, and all of them fall in a continuous alphabetical arrangement of subjects. From the preface to the edition of 1660 it appears that “an alphabetical order” had been “at first taken up, though perhaps not the most exact,” and was therefore continued. I hope I have also demonstrated that

the edition of 1649 was a book of seventeen sheets or sixty-eight pages (Introduction, p. 84), probably of the same size and type as that of 1660. This manuscript Index, with the pages of Precedents and Forms numbered 55 to 59, confirms the similarity between the two editions.

The few apparent discrepancies in the manuscript really confirm the whole. Thus on page 2 we find the title "Anabaptist," which is lacking in 1660; but in that second edition the title is "Heresy," and the side reference is Liber 1, page 2, "Anabaptists." So again the Index has, page 8, "Fences," misplaced among the titles beginning with C; but the full title was "Cattle, fencing against."

The reference, page 45, for "Swearing," is between the P's and R's, but the full title was "Profane Swearing."

I submit herewith a full list of the titles already thus identified by this manuscript and other authorities, with the highly satisfactory result of seventy-three titles recovered, or one for nearly every page of the original volume. In fact, we are now in a position to attempt the virtual reconstruction of the first edition, since the text in 1660 carefully points out the date of the sections of the various titles. Of course some of the earliest laws were slightly amended in the process of codification, but it should be possible to recover substantially the laws which were deemed in 1649 to constitute the code of general statutes.

Although the proceedings of the General Court have been printed, every reader knows the impossibility of obtaining therefrom any idea of what general laws were in force. The first and most important aid was given when our associate, the late Francis Calley Gray, discovered in the library of the Boston Athenæum the manuscript copy of the "Body of Liberties," which has been printed in our "Collections" in 1843. Since then the City of Boston has reprinted in facsimile the editions of "Laws of 1660 and of 1672," with their supplements. I believe that these books have proved of value in the study of our laws, and it is somewhat strange that no member of the bar has followed up the work thus begun.

It seems to be conceded that the "Body of Liberties" was a wonderful work, bearing comparison with any code ever promulgated. It is often asserted that our system of laws is continuous from that beginning, and that not only its principles,

but its words, continue in force to-day. If we can prepare the successive enactments from 1641 to 1660, we shall be able to verify these suggestions, and to give due credit to the wisdom of our ancestors.

I submit herewith a printed copy of the manuscript Index, in case it shall be deemed best to print it. It seems to have been prepared mainly to collect the laws relating to the powers and duty of a constable; and a perusal of it will perhaps give us a higher idea of the importance of that public officer two centuries ago.

I see no reason to think that this Index refers to any original manuscript, as the coincidences with the printed book are so numerous and uniform.

The references to the "Second Book of the Laws" (already identified as a Supplement of some sixteen pages, covering laws from 1648 to 1650) have not been examined, as they merely confirm previous conclusions.

Index of Laws.

Page 3. Ann^o 46. Title, Bakers. In every market towne, or other townes needfull there shall be one or two men appointed & Sworne to See waite & marking of bread to be sold who may enter into all such houses either wth a constable or w^{thout} & seize bread defective &c.

Page 4. 5: Anno 46. Title, Burglary, & Theft: One majestrate to heare & determine Small thefts, & give warrant to the constable of the said towne to levy the same: soe as it exceed not 40^s the constable to make returne to the court of that Jurisdiction of all such fines as they have received, yearely.

Page 8. Title, Fences. The constable ^{sh} warrant from Select men to levy double recompence to the repairers of common fences.

Page 8. Title, Small Causes. The majestrate in every towne where he lives to heare Small causes not Exceeding 40^s & may Send for ptyes & witnesses, ^{sh} summons or Attatchm^t directed to y^e constable who is faithfully to Execute it. And where no majestrate is the county court, or co^t of Assistants (uppon request of such townes under the hand of y^e constable shall appoint 3 freemen as co^mmissioners in such cases. 2 whereof shall have power as y^e majestrate above. & they may charge y^e constable wth y^e delinquent to carry him before a majestrate or y^e Shire Court if then Sitting. And where it concernes the said majestrate, or 3 men the Select men have the like power to heare & determine.

Page 9. Title, Charges Publike. Y^e Constable of next townes

¶ warrant from one Assistant & y^e overseer of publique worke to Send men to them, onely y^e constable is to take two other or more of the freemen to himselfe for executing it. And for extraordinary workes y^e constable & y^e other two or more wth him to send any Except majestrates & officers of Churches & Co^mon welth:

Ditto page. Every inhabitant that doth not voluntarily contribute to publike charges both civill & Ecclesiasticall shall be compelled thereto by Assesment & distresse to be levyed ¶ the constable; or other officer of y^e towne as in other cases.

Ditto page & title. The treasurer to send forth his warrant to constable & Select men in every towne requiring the Constable to call together the inhabitants who are to chuse a commissioner who wth the select men shall in the 6th moneth make a list of all males from 16 years & upwards. & a true Estimation of Estates, wth are to be assessed ¶ ditto comissioners & Select men. And y^e treasurer to give warrant to constable to collect & levy the same. Soe as the whole assesmt^t be paid into the treasurer before y^e 20th of novem: Every one to pay his rate to the constable in the same towne where assessed, but if y^e treasurer cannott dispose of it there, the constable to send it in where he shall appoint, at y^e charge of y^e country: to be allowed the constable uppon his acc^w wth y^e treasurer. And uppon distress to be taken, y^e officer shall distrein goods or cattle, if none to be had, then lands or houses, if none of these, then uppon warrant from treasurer to attatch y^e body & carry to prison, or take security to next co^t of that shire.

Page 12. Title, Clerks of Writts. Constables to serve attatchm^t in townes where no marshall is:

Page 13. Title, Constables. Constables to whip (where none else appointed) or to gett another to do it: offenders of forreign jurisdictions, to be passed from constable to Constable to place whither sent; or before some majestrate, who may dispose of them as he see cause: that Hue & cries shall be duly received & dillgently pursued. In townes where noe magestrate is y^e Constable is to make Signe & putt forth pursuites or Hue & Cryes after murderers, man slayers, peace breakers, theeves, robbers, Burglarers & other capitall offenders. Also to apprehend wthout warrant, drunkerds, swearers, sabbath breakers, lyers, vagrant psons, night walkers or any other that shall offend in any of these: provided seen ¶ Constable, or p^rsent information & to search for Such in publique houses or other suspected places: & to apprehend them & keep in safe Custody till brought before a magestrate for examination. If constable be employed ¶ magestrate to apprehend any, not to doe it wthout warrant in writeing if any refuse to assist constable: 10^s fine to be levyed ¶ warrant from any majestrate: wilfull obstinate & contemptuous neglect to assist: 40^s, & for avoiding the plea of ignorance, staffe to be carryed wth him when constable goeth

to discharge any pt of his office. If magestrate or constable refuse to endeavo^r psecutions of hue & Cryes &c fineable 40^s for every offence.

Page 16. Title, Death Untimely. In that case some assistant or constable of that towne to summon a jury of 12 men, to enquire the cause & manner of y^r death & to p^rsent a true verdict to Some neer assistant, (or next co^rt in y^r shire) uppon oath.

Page 21. Title, Elections. In small townes where are noe deputies nor come in pson to Election the Constable wth 2 or 3 of cheife freemen shall receive the votes, & deliver them wth their owne, sealed up, to the deputies of next towne: who shall carefully convey them to s^d Co^rt of Election.

Page 21. Title, Elections. For Supply of Assistants y^e Deputyes of Co^rt to give notice to constable or Select men to give in votes w^{ch} are to be opened at Boston. And agents of each shire ^{repealed.} lookes pag. 10. to signify y^e psons to be nominated to y^e constable of each ^{2 booke} towne under their hands, y^e constable to signify it to the freemen.

Page 26. Title, Idlenes. The constable to take notice of idlenes, specially comon Coasters unprofitable foulers & tobacco takers, & to p^resent them to the two next Assistants.

Page 27. Title, Impost. The constable (if required) to Assist the customer of wines to break up houses or cellars if need bee &c And [¶] warrant from any one magistrate to levy ten shillings fine from any porter, Carter &c that shall refuse to assist y^e s^d Customer.

Page 28. Title, Impresses. No mans cattle or goods whatsoever be pressed or taken for any publique use & Service, unlesse it by [be?] [¶] warrant grounded uppon Some act of the generall Co^rt, nor wthout reasonable hire.

Page 30. Title, Drunkenes, &c. Drunken man to pay 10^s. Excessive drinking: 3^s 4^d. Continuing above halfe an houre tippling 2^s. 6^d. Tippling at unseasonable times, or after 9 a clock at night, 5^s. & for want of paym^t to be imprisoned, or sett in stocks one houre or more, not exceeding 3 houres. y^e 2^d time double fines. 3^d time treble fines. if not able to pay y^e Drunkerd to be whipped 10 stripes. others Stocks 3 hours. fourth time imprisoned till find suretyes to good behavior.

Page 31. ditto title. Any convicted of breach of y^e severall lawes in ditto title expressed either [¶] sight of magistrate, affirmation of constable or other witsnesse to be fined (as the law provides) [¶] one magistrate to be levyed [¶] warrant to constable who is to be accomptable to the Auditor: now all accompts of this nature to be made to the Treasurer of y^e County.

Also y^e Constables to search uppon lords dayes or lecture dayes in



times of exercise for any breaking said laws. And if y^e Constable uppon complaint refuse soe to doe uppon due proof before any one magistrate w^{thin} 3 moneths after such neglect they shall be fined for every Such neglect 10^s to be levyed ¶ Marshall ¶ warrant from y^e said magistrate or from y^e Treasurer uppon notice from such magistrate.

Page 31. Title, Juryes. The Constable uppon proces from y^e recorder of y^e Co^t shall give timely notice to y^e freemen of y^e towne to chuse jury men, soe many as the proces shall direct, wth men he is to warne to attend the Co^t & shall make returne of y^e proces to the recorder afores^d.

Page 34. Title, Levyes. The constable to assist y^e marshall (if caled) to levy fines, assesm^{ts} or executions. to breake up house, chest &c. y^e like in fines. but not to levy any mans bedding apparell tooles or Armes, nor implem^{ts} of household necessary for upholding of life.

Page 35. Title, Lying. The constable or marshall to levy fines for lying or inflict stripes as the Co^t or magistrate shall direct, the fines to be pd to y^e treasury of the Shire.

Page 37. Title, Marriage. Constables to sumon to y^e county co^t or co^t of Assistants all such as have wives or husbands in other p^{ts} and repaire not to them: on penalty of 20^s for every defect.

Page 38. Title, Masters &c. If serv^{ts} runne from Ma^{rs} or other inhabitants privily goe away wth suspition of ill intentions, the next magistrate or constable wth 2 of cheife inhabitants where no magistrate is, to presse, men, boates, pinnaces at publique charge to pursue & bring back ¶ force of Armes. Also serv^{ts} or workmens wages w^{ch} is to be p^d in corne (if the p^{ties} agree not) y^e corne to be valued ¶ a third man chosen ¶ y^e magistrate or ¶ next Constable if no magistrate in towne.

Page 39. Notice to be given. to magistrate or Constable ¶ any freeman, to whom any mans serv^t is fled from tyranny of Superiors.

Page 42. Title, Military Affaires. The constable to provide armes for such single p^{sons} as cannot through poverty, provide for themselves & to appoint him when & where to earne it out.

Page 43. Three cheife officers of each company have power to punish souldiers or comitt them to constable to be carryed before some magistrate.

Page 44. Title, Pipestaves. The constable to convent before some magistrate the veiwers of pipestaves that are chosen in each towne, to be sworn &c.

Page 45. The constable ¶ warrant from magistrate to levy 10^s for Swearing or sett the p^{ty} in Stocks not above 3 houres nor less then one.

Page 46. Title, Rates, Fines. The Constable to levy after y^e expiration of his office if not done before. & if he bring y^m not in, y^e Treasurer to distreine Constables goods: if y^e treasurer neglect soe to doe, he shall be responsible for the so^me to y^e Country: if the constable be not solvent, the Treasurer to distreine any man of y^e towne, who shall from y^e generall Co^t & petition have redresse from s^d towne wth damages.

Page 48. Title, Straies. Straie beasts of [or?] lost goods, notice of y^m to be given to the Constable wthin six dayes, who is to enter y^e same in a booke, & take order that it be cryed y^e next lecture day or generall towne meeting upon 3 Severall dayes & if it be above 20^o at y^e next marktett or publique towne meetings where no marktett is wthin ten miles. Upon penalty of y^e finder or constable defective to forfeite one third pt of the value. If y^e owner appeare wthin a yeare, he to have it or its value paying y^e charges & to constable for his care and paines, as magistrate or 3 men judge, if noe owner appeare y^e Stray or lost goods to be y^e finders, paying to y^e constable 10^o or a 5th pt of it, provided y^t there be a with or wreath about y^e necke of such stray beast wthin one month of its finding.

Page 49. Title, Strangers. All constables shall enforme y^e co^{ts} of new commers w^{ch} they know to be admitted into any towne wthout licence, contrary to law there provided.

Page 50. Title, Swine. The constable where no Select men are, to issue warrant to one appointed to levy fines & penaltyes about swine. As also to be one of the prizers of Swine impounded if noe owner appeare.

Page 52. Title, Watching. Constable to p^sent to next magistrate any that neglect or refuse to watch. fine five shill to use of y^e watch, leyed & warrant from magistr. & every pson of able body (not exempt & law) or of estate sufficient to hire another shall watch & ward. Except farmers.

Page ditto. Title, Weights & Measures. The const. of every towne to provide standards of them Sealed & Auditor Gen. for w^{ch} y^e Cons^t to pay him two pence for every weight & measure soe sized & sealed. y^e cons. to co^mitt them to y^e Select men, who wth the Constable, are to chuse out of y^m one to be Sealer who shall be p^sented to county co^t to be Sworne, & shall have power to send forth his warrants & the Constables to all y^e inhabitants to bring in their wayts & measures in y^e second moneth from yeare to yeare at such place as he shall appoint, who shall have one penny for first sealing. Upon forfeiture of forty shillings & moneth for neglect of const. or Select men or sealer. & psons neglecting to bring them in to forfeit 3^o 4^d for every default. The constable to make returne of all the names of psons warned.

Page 54. Title, Wolves. Ten shillings to be p^d to him y^t kills a wolfe w^{thin} 10 miles of any planta^{cion}, in this jurisdiction, out of y^e treasury of y^e country: they bringing a certificate to y^e Treasurer under some magistrates hand or y^e constables of the place.

Page 55. Title, Workmen. The constables of every towne uppon request made to y^m shall require any Artificers, meet to labor to worke ¶ the day for y^e neighbors in mowing, reaping of corne or innning thereof. being duly paid for it. The penalty of neglect of Constable or pson required to be double y^e said wages payable to use of poore of y^e towne, provided any such pson be not necessarily imployed on y^e like buisnes of his owne.

Page 55. P^resident Attatchm^t. To y^e marshall or constable of (B) or to their deputy. You are required to attatch y^e body & Goods of (W. E.) & to take bond of him to the value of ——— wth sufficient surety or suretys for his appearance at the next co^t holden at (S) on the ——— day of the ——— moneth then & there to answer y^e complaint of &c, & soe make a true returne hereof under yo^r hand Dated &c.

Bond for appearance. Know all men ¶ these p^rents that we (A. B.) of (D.) yeoman & (C. C.) of y^e same, carpenter doe binde o^r selves o^r heires & Executors to (R. F.) marshall or (m.o.) cons. of (D) afores^d in ——— pounds: uppon condition that y^e said (A. B.) shall psonally appeare at y^e next co^t at (S) to Answer (L. M.) in an action of ——— And to abide the order of y^e co^t therein & not depart w^{thout} licence.

Page 58. Title, Three men. Where 3 men are deputed to heare small causes, the const. of y^e place w^{thin} one moneth after shall returne their names to y^e next magistrate, who shall summons them to appear before him & administer an oath to them.

Page 59. Const. Oath. Whereas you (E. G.) are chosen const. w^{thin} the towne of (C) for one yeare now following & untill another be sworne in the place, you doe here Sweare by the name of almighty God that you will carefully intend the p^rservation of y^e peace the discovery & p^rventing all attempts ag^t y^e same. You shall duly execute all warrants y^t shall be sent unto you from lawfull authority here established & shall faithfully execute all such orders of Co^t as are committed to yo^r care. And in all these you shall deale seriously & faithfully while you shall be in office, w^{thout} any sinister respect of favo^r or displeasure. Soe helpe you God in o^r lord Jesus Christ.

2 booke. Page 6. Title, Drunkenes. Every Vintner or beer Seller that conceales a drunkard & doth not forthwth procure a constable & make stop of him y^e s^d Drunken pson till the constable come to forfeit 5^l for such offence. Any magistrate to co^mmand y^e constable

if he see cause to accompany him ¶ day or night, to enter into any taverne &c to search out any disorders afores^d.

Page 6. Title, Drunkenes. If any being drunke offer abuse to const. or others ¶ strikeing him or them, or revileing or use any endeavour to Scape, it shall be in power of const. to comitt him to safe keeping or imprisonm^t or take bond for appearance as he shall see cause, and y^t y^e keep of each prison uppon warrant from any magist. comis. or Select men shall receive all such Soe comitted. & take but 12^d fee. Y^e const. to enforme next magis. : or if none in y^e towne then one or more of y^e 3 men for Small causes or in defect of them y^e Select men one or more of y^m who have power to act as a magis., provided if y^e delinquent shall confesse his fault & pay his fines & other charges the Const. shall receive it & discharge the offendor. And all psons to receive fines as afores^d shall forthwth make returne to the clarke of y^e county co^t what he hath done & rec^d who shall record it. The like power in absence of a magis. Every Court shall have to pceed wth cursers, Swearers Unseasonable tipplers, comp^r keeps, Gamesters.

Page 7: Title, Fines. All psons, marshalls or other officers who receive any gifts fines or other dues to the country shall make certificate to the Audit^r Gen. wthin fourteen dayes, who shall send a Transcript or note therof to y^e Treasurer.

Page 8. Title, Horses to be Impressed, : viz all that are not in regimentall Exercise or in publike service. onely listed horses to be allowed 2^s others 18^d ¶ diem

Page 10. Title, Magistrates. The const. to call together y^e freemen some day in y^e last weeke of the ninth moneth yearly, to give in their votes in distinct paps for magis. not exceding twenty. The Comissioners of Shires (after y^e votes are opened at Boston) shall signify to y^e const. of their severall townes under their hands the names of those 20 psons afores^d all wth y^e const. shall forthwth signify to their freemen, who ever shall fayle in their trust herein shall forfeit 10^{li}.

Page 14. Title, Sheep. The Constable of y^e towne shall upon notice given him of any mans dogge that hath killed a Sheep, if the owner of y^e dogge, refuse to hang him, cause it to be done.

Page 6. Title, ministers maintenance. The County Co^t in every shire uppon informaçon of defect in any towne to maintenance of ministry, may order & appoint what shall be allowed & give warrant to y^e Select men to asses it, & to Constables to collect it & distreine uppon refusall.

Page ditto. One magistrate ¶ warrant to a Constable to call before him disobedient children & to pceed ag^t them according to law in y^t case there pvided. The comissioners of Boston & 3 comissioners of each towne where noe magis. is to doe the like.

Page 2. Title, Choise of Deputyes. The constable of every towne to returne the names of such pson or psons as are chosen Deputyes for y^e Gen. Co^t & the time for w^{ch} they are chosen whether for y^e first Session or y^e whole yeare, on penalty of 20^s to Contry treasury

Page 3. Title, Harvard Colledge, Whereas 100^l is to be added to the rates yearly w^{ch} is allowed to y^e colledge, it is ordered that such psons as have already done voluntarily in that kinde, shall be considered for y^e same in y^e Country rate: Such a pportion as this addition of 100^l doe adde to the rate, to be allowed \P y^e constable to each pson & by the treasurer to y^e constable.

May 55. the Co^mmittee of melitia & select men to levy on y^e towne for repara^on of forts & batteryes &c w^{ch} to be gathered \P Constables & by y^m committed to y^e Treasurer or constable if appointed to be treasurer of s^d towns.

Page 11. Title, Const. Acc^o. Every constable enjoined to cleare acc^o wth treasurer for rates \P the 1st of May yearly, on penalty of 5^l & have power to impresse boates or carts to send it in.

Page 2. Title, Packing Fish &c. The townes where any casks are made to choose yearly a gager, who is to be p^sented within a week after choise to any one magistrate to be sworne. if the said Gager refuse it to pay 40^s and another to be chosen. if towne or const. neglect therein \P fine 40^s.

Page 4. Title, Powder Imported. The Cap^t of Castle to give notice to all masters to enter the powder they import & constables in other townes to doe the like.

Page 5. Title, Care of Youth. Whosoever harbour or retaine children, serv^{ts} &c into their houses or vessells from their ma's or parents buisnes to forfeitt 40^s. & constables to act in this as is provided in reference to law of inkeepers.

Page 5. Title, Jurors. Jurors for speciall Co^rts to be chosen as other jurors in the place where they are to be chosen.

Page 7. Title, Boston Com^{ms}. Marshalls. Constables & other inhabitants to Assist y^e Comissioners.

Page 7. Title, P^rvention of Outrages. The mas^r or mate of every ship or vessell y^t shall bring in any strangers to p^sent them immediately (if they be above 16 yeares old) before y^e Gov^r, Deputy or 2 other magistrates upon penalty of 20^l there to give acc^o of their occasions & buisines in this Country. The Cap^t of y^e Castle shall make knowne this to every vessell as it passeth by & the constable of port townes to endeavor to doe the like: y^e Gov^r &c to give their names & qualities to clerk of writts & soe to sessions

Akin to this subject, Dr. GREEN furthermore mentioned the fact that among the early manuscripts belonging to the Library

was one written in an ancient hand, of which the following is a transcript:—

A tru Coppy of the Law titled high ways as it is in the old Law book 1642: pag 37: 2: section

Itt is ordered and declared by this Court that the Select townsmen of every town haue power to Lay out by them selves or others per-ticuler and privat ways consernig thayr owne Town only: so as no damag be don to aney man without du recompenc to be givn by the Judgment of the sd Select men and on or two chosn by the sd select men and on or to chosn by the party and if aney pson shall find him-self Justly agreived he may appeale to the next County Court of that Shire who shall do Justic ther in as in other Cases.

[Indorsed] A Copy of the Law titled highways in the old Law book Impow^r select men to satisfy for highway.

Perhaps the reference in the first paragraph, "pag 37: 2: section," is to the printed edition of 1660, with which it corresponds; but there does not seem now to be any reason why at that time this should have been called "the old Law book."

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said:—

Since our last meeting my attention has been called to a newspaper article¹ advocating the rebuilding of the Beacon Hill Monument, erected in 1790, "To commemorate that train of events which led to the American Revolution and finally secured liberty and independence to the United States." Nothing is said in the article as to the authorship of the inscriptions on the monument, which has long been a matter of doubt. In his "Topographical Description of Boston," published a quarter of a century ago, and eighty years after the monument was built, Dr. Shurtleff says that the inscriptions were ascribed to Judge Thomas Dawes, and adds, "If he did not write them, it is desirable to know who did."² It has also been suggested that they were written by Governor Bowdoin; and a distinct claim was made by the late Rev. Stephen G. Bulfinch, that his father, Charles Bulfinch, the architect, not only "gave the design," but also "furnished the inscriptions."³ Under date of April 9, 1896, Mrs. Marcou,

¹ In the Boston Evening Transcript, April 7, 1896.

² Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, p. 177.

³ Wheildon's Sentry, or Beacon Hill, p. 75.



granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the recognized founder of this Society, writes: "I was told by my aunt, Miss E. Belknap, that my grandfather was the author of the inscriptions." That Miss Belknap was right, and that Dr. Belknap had the chief part in forming the inscriptions, admits, I think, of but little doubt; but these conflicting claims furnish additional proof of the soundness of the positions taken by Mr. Pierce in his very able paper on "Recollections as a Source of History," read at our March meeting. Fortunately, however, we are not left merely to recollections. In a letter to Ebenezer Hazard, dated September 14, 1790, Dr. Belknap writes: "Yesterday I was consulted on forming a set of inscriptions for a historical pillar, which is erecting on Beacon Hill. Some of the most striking events of the Revolution will be inscribed, beginning with the *Stamp Act* and ending with the *Funding Act*. These comprehend a period of 25 years. The one may be considered as the beginning, and the other as the conclusion, of the American Revolution."¹ This, it is believed, is the only contemporary information which we have on the subject, and it clearly implies a connection between Dr. Belknap and the inscriptions. His social and intellectual position in the community at that time was such as to make him the person most likely to be called on to prepare an inscription for an historical monument; and it is difficult to believe that he was asked merely to criticise the work of another. The two shorter inscriptions can scarcely have come from any hand but his: of one I have already quoted the larger part; the other is as follows, — "Americans, while from this eminence scenes of luxuriant fertility, of flourishing commerce, and the abodes of social happiness meet your view, forget not those who by their exertions have secured to you these blessings." As to the two longer inscriptions, which record "the most striking events of the Revolution," he may very well have had, and probably did have, suggestions from various persons; but this conjecture in no way weakens the claim in his behalf, that he was the real author of these "judicious inscriptions," as Dr. Shurtleff calls them.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called attention to a rare volume by Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, and said: —

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 233.

Since the last meeting of the Society, our associate Colonel Thomas W. Higginson has given to the Library a rare volume entitled "Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace to His Disciples in a troublesome World" (Boston, 1686), which was written by his ancestor the Rev. John Higginson, of Salem. It is of special interest at the present time, as it adds another title to the List of Early American Imprints belonging to the Society, which appears in the Proceedings (second series, IX. 410-540). This little book has more historical value than usually attaches to such productions, as the preface contains some biographical matter which far outweighs in importance the doctrinal views so common in early theological works. Mr. Higginson, the author, came over from England in 1629 with his father, who died during the next year. Though a mere lad at the time, the care and maintenance of his mother and seven other children fell largely upon him, the eldest of the family; and he soon developed those traits of character for which he afterward became distinguished. For some years he lived in the Colony of Connecticut, but in the summer of 1660 was ordained over the same church at Salem which his father had planted; and here he remained for nearly half a century. He published several occasional discourses; and among them is the Election Sermon of 1663, the first one printed in that long series of annual addresses. While he was a relentless opponent of the Quakers, he took no part in the terrible tragedy of 1692 at Salem, where he was then settled.

The following is a fac-simile reproduction of the titlepage of the volume, with a collation of the same:—



Our Dying Saviour's
LEGACY of PEACE

To His Disciples in a troublesome
 World, from *John 14.27.*

My Peace I give unto you, &c.

Also a
DISCOURSE

On the Two WITNESSES:

Shewing that it is the Duty of all Christians
 to be Witnesses unto Christ, from *Rev. 11.3.*

I will give to my two Witnesses, &c.

Unto which is added,
 Some Help to Self-Examination.

By *John Higginson* Pastor of the Church in
Salem.

2 Pet. 1.14, 15. Knowing that I must shortly put off
 this Tabernacle, I will endeavour, that after my
 decease you may have these things always in
 remembrance.

Boston, Printed by *Samuel Green* for *John*
Osborn near the Town-House, 1686.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank ; 7 pp. "To the Church and People of God at Salem ; also at Guilford and Say Brook : Grace unto you, and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ," headpiece a line of seventeen border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, headlines "To the Reader," signed "John Higginson," and dated at Salem, August 6, 1686 ; 1 p. blank ; 3 pp. "Christian Reader," headpiece similar to the first one, headlines "To the Reader," signed "of him who is a Well-wisher to Israels Peace, Samuel Willard" ; 1 p. blank ; 1-131, "John 14. 27," text, headpiece similar to the first, various headlines ; 1 p. blank ; 133-185, "Revelations II. III.," text, headpiece similar to the first, various headlines ; 1 p. blank ; 188 [187]-205, "Some help to Self-Examination, which I drew up for my Self, in the Year 1652. But may be of like use to any, that shall peruse the same ; with Meditation and Self Application, and earnest Prayer, as Psal. 139. 23, 24," headpiece a line of seventeen border pieces, headlines "Self-Examination" ; 1 p. blank ; 1 p. "Advertisement," between two lines of border pieces, as given below : —



Advertisement.

THere is now ready for the Press,
and will shortly be Printed a
small Treatise about *Justification*, by the
Reverend Mr. *Samuel Willard*, Teacher
at the South Church in *Boston*.



By a coincidence, which happened quite independently of Colonel Higginson's gift, and at nearly the same time, was the binding of a thin tract by the Rev. John Higginson, printed in the year 1665. It is entitled "A Direction for a Publick Profession in the Church Assembly, after private Examination by the Elders," etc., and more than eighty years ago came into the possession of the Library, where it was given by Lieutenant-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop, afterward the President of



the Society. A short time later it was bound up with twenty other pamphlets, of which none approached it in value or interest. Through the kindness of our associate, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., at his expense this tract has been taken from the volume, carefully cleaned, and bound separately in full morocco. For a collation of its pages, see Proceedings (second series, IX. 423) of the Society.

The Rev. Joseph B. Felt reprints the tract, both in his pamphlet entitled "Did the First Church of Salem originally have a Confession of Faith distinct from their Covenant?" (Boston, 1856), pages 23-25; and also in his "Reply to the New-England Congregationalism of Hon. Daniel A. White" (Salem, 1861), pages 55-57. A clew to the date of its appearance (1665) is found on page 17 of the first-named pamphlet, as well as a clew to its authorship.

In the lower margin of the first page of the tract, in the handwriting of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., is the following: "The author is M^r John Higenson Pastor of y^e Church of Salem." Specimens of the same writing may be seen in a copy of an Almanack for 1662, which is bound up with four other English almanacs, that had once belonged to three generations of the Winthrop family, and now are found on the shelves of the Historical Society. John Winthrop, Jr., and John Higginson were contemporaries, and at one time lived near each other in Connecticut; and of course they knew one another well. I mention this fact in some detail, as I consider the written statement in regard to the authorship to be conclusive, inasmuch as it was made at that period; and furthermore Dr. Felt reached the same conclusion, presumably from an independent starting-point.

It has been said that the Rev. Francis Higginson, the father, was the writer of the tract, — and not the son, — inasmuch as the title refers to "the Church of *Salem*" in 1629, the year it was gathered. A careful reading of the phraseology, however, shows that the "Direction for a Publick Profession," etc., purported to be only "the same for Substance," and did not claim to be identical with that originally agreed upon by the Church.

Higginson's tract was printed in the year 1665 by Samuel Green, of Cambridge, who at that period was the only printer in the Colonies.

Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member.

Incidental remarks were made during the meeting by Mr. JOHN C. ROPES, the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Mr. CLEMENT HUGH HILL, the Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, and Mr. WILLIAM P. UPHAM, the last two of whom spoke at some length of the importance of a complete publication of the Provincial Laws and Resolves, with the illustrative matter contained in the Massachusetts Archives.

A new serial of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the March and April meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.



A. P. Peabody.

M E M O I R
OF
ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., LL.D.
BY EDWARD J. YOUNG.

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, March 19, 1811, and his birthplace is marked by a substantial brick edifice, on which are inscribed the words "Peabody Building." He was a descendant of Lieutenant Francis Peabody of St. Albans, England, who came to this country in the ship "Planter" in 1635, and from whom George Peabody the philanthropist was also descended. His father was a native of Middleton, and intended to prepare himself for the ministry; but his health failed, and he became a teacher, and for many years kept the public school in Beverly. His mother, who was a woman of singular sweetness, belonged to a highly esteemed family in Essex County, being a sister of Hon. Robert Rantoul, Sr., of Beverly. The father died when the child was very young; and among his last words charged his wife that she would carry out the wish which he had always cherished, that their only son might be educated for the profession which he had chosen for himself, but had been obliged to abandon. This solemn injunction, being often repeated in presence of the lad, made a lasting impression on his mind; and after he grew up, he said that the truths of religion which he cherished were inseparable in his thought from a Christian mother's teaching and from the dying benediction of a sainted father. Thus, like the prophet Samuel, from his earliest years he was dedicated to the Lord.

He was able to read when he was three years old, and he learned his letters from a book which inadvertently was placed

before him upside down, so that it was always a matter of indifference to him how a book was put before his eyes. On one occasion, when he was riding in a stage-coach, and was turning the leaves of a volume printed in German characters, one of the passengers remarked that this young man pretended to have a knowledge of German, but he could know nothing about it, for he was holding his book upside down. The ancient languages he could read in the same manner; and when a pupil stood before him with a copy of Homer or Virgil, he could from his seat overlook the top of the page and follow the lesson as readily as if he had the copy in his own hand. For a considerable time he preferred this way of reading; but when he saw that it attracted attention, he discontinued it, although he retained his power of so doing as long as he lived.

Many instances are related of his wonderful memory. When he was seven years of age, the members of his class in Sunday-school were requested to begin the Bible and learn as much as they could. On being called upon, he recited sentence after sentence, and occupied the time until it was necessary to close the school. As he had not finished, inquiry was made by the superintendent, when it was found that Andrew had committed to memory the whole of the first chapter of Genesis and a large part of the book besides. Even when he was quite small, he manifested an original and bright mind. To the question, "Which would make the better fire, — a fool or a philosopher?" he answered, using a word which was remarkable for so young a boy, "I think an intermediate person would succeed best." The following letters, addressed to his cousin Robert Rantoul, Jr., who was then at Phillips Andover Academy, and afterwards became a distinguished member of Congress, were written when Andrew was nine and eleven years old: —

BEVERLY, March 13, 1820.

DEAR COUSIN, — I write this letter, that I may receive an answer; therefore I hope that you will answer it at the first opportunity. I hope before many years have passed that I shall be at the Academy. I have now under my care a class in Colburn's Arithmetic. I take them into the library-room in the afternoon, and seat them at the round table, wherefore I style them "knights of the round table." I am perfectly satisfied that Colburn's Arithmetic is founded on an excellent

plan, and that it will be of great use in instructing those who know nothing of arithmetic. I am now reading a book called "Struggles through Life." It is a very entertaining book. . . .

BEVERLY, October 6, 1822.

DEAR COUSIN, — As Saturday afternoon is the only leisure time I have, I take this time to write to you. I am writing exercises from Dana's "Latin Tutor." I began Virgil yesterday. I never, since I was five years old, studied so much or read so little as I do now. I used to think, if I endured the fatigue of a noisy school, that I studied a great deal; but now I have the pleasure of study unmixed with its fatigue. A few days ago I came very near making an Irish blunder. In construing *Selecta* I came to a passage in which was the word *apis*, a bee. I was about to construe it an ape, but recollecting that I had read of a little girl who, hearing the word *apiary*, thought it meant a collection of apes, I immediately changed my opinion, and construed it a bee. In my Greek grammar I have gone as far as the end of verbs in μ . Of all my studies I like the "Latin Tutor" best.

From childhood Andrew Peabody had an intense thirst for knowledge, and extraordinary readiness in acquiring it. He was a persistent reader of books, many of which were far beyond his years. On those afternoons when there was no school he used to visit a lady who taught him botany, so that he was able to apply the Linnæan system. From her he learned also French, which he became able to read as fluently as English; and he made a beginning in German literature, so that he was one of those who formed the first class in German at Harvard College. At school, in addition to the required studies, he took up geometry and trigonometry, verified all the problems contained in Bowditch's "Navigator," and mastered the paradigms in the Greek grammar, though he was only ten years of age. He cared little for outdoor sports in which other boys engaged, but books were the joy of his life. He read Maria Edgeworth's stories, Hume's History of England, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Rollin's Ancient History; the novels of Walter Scott, which deepened the impressions derived from Hume; Mungo Park's Travels in Africa; and Paradise Lost, Lycidas, as well as some of Milton's sonnets and smaller pieces. But biography was his favorite reading. Speaking, a few years ago, of books which had helped him, he said: "Whatever is to be said or sung to me, of wit or wisdom, in prose or verse, I want to see the man

who says or sings it. As for sermons, while I delight in hearing them because I have the preacher and the sermon together, I read fewer of them than I publish. But the lives of saintly men and women, high and low, great and humble, of missionaries, philanthropists, reformers, I can read without weariness and with uninterrupted enjoyment. As regards the more solid reading of maturer years, I have always been the most strongly drawn to, and have derived the greatest benefit from, authors whose position or opinion differed the most widely from my own. This has been especially the case in theology and moral philosophy, the departments peculiarly belonging to me equally by choice and by profession."

He was fitted for college by Bernard Whitman, who was then studying theology with the Rev. Dr. Abiel Abbot, and who afterwards became minister of the Second Religious Society in Waltham. So faithfully did he apply himself to his preparatory course that at the age of twelve he was admitted to college without conditions; and he accomplished much other work, as appears from the following certificate:—

Andrew Peabody has committed to memory—

1st. Mason on Self-Knowledge.

2d. 1st part Geneva Catechism.

3rd. 11 chapters in Evidences of Christianity,

and has recited 27 sections in Grotius de veritate Chris. Rel.

Absent none.

Attest: BERNARD WHITMAN.

BEVERLY, Oct., 1823.

Being considered too immature to join his class, he continued under the instruction of his former teacher; and he was so diligent and persevering that at the end of six months he passed an examination in the requirements of the Freshman year, and at the following Commencement in those of the Sophomore year, and at thirteen was matriculated as a Junior. During the period of study under Mr. Whitman he worked from twelve to fifteen hours a day, and took no vacation, and seldom had an hour for play or recreation. This excessive labor might have been followed by very serious consequences; but happily its result was that it developed a capacity for unintermitted strenuous exertion, which was of inestimable value in after life. In 1826 he graduated at the age of fif-

teen, being the youngest member of his class, and with one exception (Paul Dudley), the youngest individual who ever received a degree from Harvard College.¹ Among his classmates were Richard Hildreth, George W. Hosmer, Edward Jarvis, Cazneau Palfrey, George Putnam, Robert Rantoul, Jr., Oliver Stearns, J. Thomas Stevenson, and Samuel H. Walley, — all of them well known, and some of them celebrated in this community.

For three years after leaving college he was engaged in teaching. He took charge of a district school in Middleton; was private tutor in the family of Mr. H. J. Huidekoper, in Meadville, Pennsylvania; and then was principal of the Academy in Portsmouth. Having no qualifications for the management of boys, he naturally passed through some trying experiences; and subsequently, when he was asked by one of his Portsmouth parishioners, how he had enjoyed being a schoolmaster, he replied that he had enjoyed his vacations. In 1829 he entered the Divinity School at Cambridge, where he spent three years, during which he was proctor in the College, and instructor in Hebrew to those Seniors who chose that language as an elective. In 1832 he was tutor in mathematics, of which he was always fond, and of which he has said that "mathematical science reveals geometrical and numerical fitnesses, proportions, and harmonies, which are traced alike in the courses of the stars and in the collocation of the foliage on the tree, and which promise one day to give us the equation of the curve of the sea-shell, of the contour of the geranium leaf, of the crest of the wave." He preached on Sundays in vacant pulpits, and received three invitations to take a permanent settlement, one of these coming from the South Parish of Portsmouth. Rev. Dr. Nathan Parker was in feeble health, but it was hoped that after an interval of rest he might return to the pulpit; and Mr. Peabody was asked to become his assistant. Distrustful of himself, he accepted the call, believing that he would have the benefit of the senior pastor's counsel and aid. The ordination took place on October 24, 1833; but Dr. Parker's illness having increased, he was unable to be present, and soon afterward died, and his colleague preached his funeral sermon on the third Sunday of his pastorate. The young minister, who was then twenty-two

¹ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. iii. p. 6, note.

years of age, thus unexpectedly found himself in full charge of the parish.

Portsmouth at that time was a place of much more commercial importance than it is now. There was a considerable trade with the West Indies, wharves and warehouses were built, and there was much activity and bustle along the streets. The large dwelling-houses were occupied by prosperous merchants, and there were many families of wealth, refinement, and culture. The South Parish was one of the strongest in New England, and had lately built a costly stone edifice which was filled by a congregation many of whom were among the most intelligent in the community. Its minister had been noted for his dignity and simplicity, and was regarded by his society with mingled pride and affection, and was held second to no clergyman of his denomination in that part of the country. The new minister was shy, awkward, unaccustomed to society, and with little knowledge of the world. But he had loyal friends and helpers, who overlooked his mistakes, supplemented his deficiencies, and assisted him in every way; and to this fact undoubtedly he referred when he said that a people frequently may do as much for a minister as a minister may do for a people. He gradually grew into fitness for his office, and at length showed that he was admirably adapted for it. He won the respect of everybody by his acknowledged ability as a preacher, and soon there were no pews to be obtained in the church. He prepared always one and not seldom two discourses for every Sunday, and in addition to this he delivered an Expository Lecture, and conducted a Bible Class for young ladies during the week. He gave his best thought to his sermons, which frequently were written *currente calamo*, at one sitting. He worked often till after midnight—a practice which he continued for many years—because he could compose better when the house was still.

He was a devoted pastor, after the type which now is passing away. He spent the forenoon in his study, but in the afternoon he went among the people, and here he found themes for his preaching. He was unremitting in his attentions to the aged, the sick, and the sad. His parishioners felt sure of his interest in them and in whatever related to them, and to many he was their chosen confidant and adviser in

worldly, domestic, and spiritual troubles. He never obtruded his opinions or advice; but when opportunities were offered for saying a helpful or a needed word, he improved them. By his loving disposition he endeared himself to all in every home, and the children and grandchildren cherished the same attachment to him as their elders. He was interested in all classes of the people, and was especially thoughtful for the welfare of the fishermen of the Isles of Shoals; and after his resignation of the pastorate he was surprised and gratified to receive from them a silver fish-knife, beautifully engraved, and bearing the inscription, "An humble token of gratitude for the efficient educational and religious services rendered to them during the past twenty-seven years."

At one period of his ministry he was quite ill with a bronchial affection, and was absent for three months, going to New Orleans by sea and returning by the Mississippi River. From the impressions derived during this visit he afterwards prepared a racy and entertaining article entitled "Slavery as it appeared to a Northern man in 1844." So likewise when he went abroad subsequently for recreation, his letters were so graphic and complete — especially his descriptions of the masterpieces in the galleries of art — that on his return he delivered them as Lowell Lectures, scarcely altering a word.

Mr. Peabody's labors in New Hampshire have been comparatively forgotten, having been eclipsed by the greater and more conspicuous work of his later life. Yet he was there for a quarter of a century; and his influence was not confined to the place where he resided, for by the addresses which he delivered in all the principal towns of the State he became the leading authority in matters relating to education and the public schools. For forty years he was a trustee of Phillips Exeter Academy, and for eighteen years President of the Board; and its new dormitory is to be named "Peabody Hall," in honor of the man who gave the longest and most valuable service to the institution. Though he was engrossed with multifarious duties, he found time for literary employments, and was constantly busy with his pen, as he was through his whole life. The following volumes were issued by him during this period: "Lectures on Christian Doctrine," 1844, new edition, 1863; "Christian Consolations," 1846, ninth edition, 1890; "Conversation: Its Faults and its

Graces," 1846, several editions; five memoirs, and four sermons connected with the re-opening of the church of the South Parish.

In 1852, wishing to gain mental stimulus and avoid sinking into the ruts of commonplace, he disregarded the advice of friends and became proprietor and editor of the "North American Review," which was then the foremost literary periodical in the country. His predecessors were Alexander and Edward Everett, John G. Palfrey, Jared Sparks, Francis Bowen; and he was succeeded by James Russell Lowell and Charles Eliot Norton. It was no easy task to maintain the standard which had been reached by this Review; but he had charge of it for ten years, — at first while he was in Portsmouth, and for two or three years after he removed to Cambridge. Every number of the quarterly contained one or more articles from him, and he prepared the larger part of the book notices, so that altogether his writings filled more than sixteen hundred pages. This was enough to tax the strength of a strong man, even if he did nothing else; for his contributions were by no means superficial, but were thorough discussions of important subjects, which will repay perusal at the present day. Scarcely any prominent work was published relating to history, biography, archæology, moral philosophy, theology, travel, poetry, art, science, that was not submitted to his judgment. The object which he had in view when he entered on this undertaking was accomplished. The multitude of topics which he was obliged to consider brought to him fresh thought, which, as he said, renewed his youth so that he performed more and better work in his proper calling for the large amount of labor that he did out of it.

Among the elaborate papers which he furnished to this Review is one which, though written fifty years ago, is noteworthy for the far-sightedness of the writer, and the hopes which he entertained for the enlargement and growth of Harvard College. The Elective System at that time had not been developed and the Graduate School did not exist, while the collegiate department was comparatively small in numbers; yet he thus writes in 1845: —

"Why might there not be instituted at Cambridge a course of studies for students of much higher attainments than those now admitted, — a course on which the graduates of other colleges might be just qualified

to enter? If pupils were received at Harvard at nearly the point of literary acquisition at which they are now sent forth, the institution would become at once and long continue without a rival the University of America. Studious young men from all other colleges and from every part of the United States would be drawn together there. The studies to be pursued, the books to be read, might with propriety be left in a great degree to the option of the student. Recitations might for the most part be superseded by lectures or by critical expositions. The attainment of a degree might be made to depend on a series of thorough, searching examinations.

"An institution thus organized would be of incalculable benefit to the whole country. Its influence would be at once most sensibly felt in the (so-called) learned professions. It would remove the reproach of juvenility. It would prescribe a thorough basis of liberal culture for those who aspire to eminence in professional life. It would fix the scholarly habits of its graduates, and make them reading, thinking, improving men for life; whereas now half of our graduates can exhibit, ten years after leaving college, no marks of a liberal education except its parchment testimonial.

"But all this, desirable as it is, is more than we can at present expect, though we believe that Harvard University is destined at some future time to assume this position; and we cannot but trust that, by calling the attention of our readers to the need of higher means of culture than are now enjoyed, we may have done something towards the ultimate supply of such means."

As though his editorial and parochial labors were not sufficient, Mr. Peabody prepared sixty leading articles for the "Whig Review," 1837-1859; he furnished about forty to the "Christian Examiner," 1832-1856; he was an editor of the "Christian Register" from October, 1849, to January, 1852; and in addition he wrote for the "American Monthly," the "New England Magazine," and other publications. The number, variety, and quality of his essays show the fulness and versatility of his mind, as well as his marvellous facility of composition. In 1852 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was bestowed upon him by Harvard College, and in 1860 he was called to be Preacher to the University and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals.

This appointment was received with general satisfaction. It was thought to be a great gain for the College to have secured for this important position a clergyman of such high reputation; and it was felt that it would be a great benefit to

the students to be under the influence of one so widely known for his ripe culture, his broad sympathies, his unaffected piety, who exemplified what he taught. These expectations were not disappointed, for during the twenty-one years he held this office he had the esteem and love of almost every one with whom he was associated. The eminent members of the Faculty at that time — Benjamin Peirce, Cornelius Felton, Joseph Lovering, Asa Gray, Francis Bowen, Henry W. Torrey, as well as many prominent men of similar character, like Edward Everett, John G. Palfrey, Robert C. Winthrop, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and others — were his firm friends, and there existed the most cordial relations between them.

According to the terms of his professorship, he was expected to give instruction in ethics, to conduct morning prayers, and to preach on Sundays in the chapel, attendance being not optional but required. So full and varied were his attainments, however, that from time to time he taught logic, political economy, astronomy, and Hebrew, and supervised the senior forensics when there was need. Twice he was Acting President, — in 1862, after the death of C. C. Felton, and again in 1868–1869, after the retirement of Thomas Hill. Such confidence was reposed in his wisdom and judgment that rich men made him their almoner, and he distributed nearly forty thousand dollars from a single individual for needy and worthy beneficiaries.

His special office in the College, however, was that of a teacher of morals and religion, — a difficult one to fill, as has been found in whatever college it exists. In addition to the criticism which every academic teacher must expect to receive, he was called upon to set forth the highest ethical and spiritual truths. Undergraduates generally are not of an age when these verities appeal to them, as they do to others. The spirit of the place, which is and must be a spirit of inquiry, is not always favorable to faith. Students, moreover, are quick to detect any unreality or seeming inconsistency in those who hold up a high standard for others. But Dr. Peabody was so true and genuine that he drew his pupils to himself, and the more they knew him the more they were attached to him. He could not have commanded their esteem if he had not possessed the qualities that deserved it. Those who did not personally come in contact with him felt the elevating influ-

ence of his presence, and even the less serious and worthy regarded him with respect and affection. No college officer was ever the recipient of such wealth of love from successive classes during so many years. This extraordinary popularity was manifested in the tumultuous and hearty cheers which were given him on Class-Day, and which sometimes were prolonged as if they would never cease. Even after he had relinquished his official position, his name drew forth the greatest enthusiasm; and he was still requested to preach the farewell sermon to the graduating class, who felt that no one could give them such words of counsel, and who desired no other to pronounce a parting blessing. The title which was applied to him, — "Dear Old Dr. Peabody," — so different from the nicknames bestowed on others, testifies also to the deep place he held in the hearts of all. That these manifestations of reverence and affection were not prompted by any spasmodic or temporary feeling, is evident from the fact that sober-minded graduates of several years' standing shared the same sentiments. At the Commencement which marked his withdrawal from the service of the University, he was the chief figure of the hour, and was everywhere greeted with the highest proofs of personal regard.

Undoubtedly the strong attachment of the students to him was the consequence of his deep interest and love for them. He was a father to them, and they knew that they could rely on his fatherly interest in their welfare. His house was freely open to them, and they could go and unbosom themselves to him, and obtain counsel and encouragement. When they were ill, he was sure to call upon them, and his visits brought light, cheer, comfort, and (when necessary) substantial aid. He defended them in Faculty meetings, and was their friend at court; and whenever they were in trouble they would send for him. He was the one person to whom they could look for sympathy and support. He was not merely a member of the board of government, interested in enforcing the rules, but he was their pastor, well-wisher, and constant friend, and doubtless considered them as especially committed to his care. In some instances he was acquainted with their families, and knew their parents or relatives, which was an additional motive for his acting in their behalf. Above all, he was not by temperament a strict disciplinarian, and it was not his nature to be

harsh and stern. He preferred to rule by love rather than by law. He was not indifferent to what was morally wrong; but he took into account the mitigating circumstances of every action, and he administered discipline so wisely that, while he rebuked, he retained and increased the good-will of the offender.

The following incident is an illustration of his method, at the same time that it shows his tact, kind-heartedness, and judgment. Two students, during their summer vacation, were guilty of writing improper letters to certain young ladies. These letters in some manner came into the hands of the parents or guardians of the two girls, who sent them to Dr. Peabody, thinking that the matter should be investigated, and the students punished by the college authorities. When the vacation was over and the students had returned to Cambridge, they were summoned to meet Dr. Peabody, when the following conversation in substance took place:—

Dr. P. "Did you two young men spend a part of your vacation in ——?" Ans. "Yes."

Dr. P. "While there did you make the acquaintance of the Misses ——?" Students, somewhat surprised. "Yes."

Dr. P. "Well, young men, I have had some letters sent to me, alleged to have been written by you to these ladies." [Taking them from a receptacle.] "Here they are." Students become very much confused and mortified.

Dr. P. looks at them searchingly, waits a few minutes, and then speaks: "Young men, I see by your looks that there is something in these letters which disturbs you. But I have not read a word of them. My sense of honor forbade my doing so. I am entirely ignorant of what they contain, except by inference. But if they are of the nature which I infer from your embarrassment, they had better be disposed of at once." He throws them into the fire and then says slowly: "But, young men, if you have acted in a manner which brings reproach upon you, let me advise you, never do so again. Never write anything which may come back long afterwards to bring to your faces a sense of shame. Good morning, gentlemen. Never be so foolish again."

The boys, after having suffered the pangs of conscience while they were in his presence, left Dr. Peabody, feeling much relieved, but conscious that they had learned a lesson which they would never forget.

The students, on graduating from college, took with them not only the remembrance of Dr. Peabody's kindnesses, but the impress of his unselfishness, his devoutness, his pure and blameless life. This was of more value than any book-knowledge which they might have gained in the recitation-room. An extract from an article entitled "Justice to Andrew Peabody's Memory" confirms this: "To us children of an older generation, Dr. Peabody stands alone as the exponent of all that was good and pure in our college days. His devotion and patience in teaching a lot of thankless scapegraces, his ready counsel for those who sought it, his forbearance and the allowance he made for youthful follies, endeared him to us beyond all others in authority over us. His very going and coming marked the grand simplicity of the man, and his mere presence among us was a perpetual benediction." Another, who appreciated what he was, thus writes: "Those who have not known this teacher have missed a privilege very rare. To the young men of two generations he has been a guide and a friend. His voice has borne to them the intimation of the Divine presence, and the assurance of the high meaning of human life. As far as the knowledge of him has gone, so far have there been diffused new respect for the Christian faith, new confidence in the lofty possibilities of mankind, and fresh gratitude for symmetry and beauty of character." The following books were published by him while he occupied the professor's chair: "Christianity the Religion of Nature: Lectures before the Lowell Institute, Boston, 2d ed., 1864"; "Sermons to Children, 1867"; "Reminiscences of European Travel, 1868"; "A Manual of Moral Philosophy, 1873"; "Christianity and Science: Lectures before the Union Theological Seminary of New York, 1874; London, 1875"; "Christian Belief and Life, 1875." The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Rochester University in 1863.

Dr. Peabody had determined that when he reached the age of seventy, he would resign his position; and he carried out his purpose, although some of his friends regretted it, and endeavored to dissuade him from it. He was at once made Professor Emeritus; and this office he held twelve years, until his death. He now made a third visit to Europe, where, accompanied by his family, he spent a year, while the place left vacant in

the College was occupied by different ministers, and is now filled by six clergymen of various denominations. He was so much benefited by his journey abroad, that he came back with the feeling that he had thrown off a full half-score of years. He was immediately elected a member of the Board of Overseers, and was re-elected, and served in all ten years. He resumed his literary work, and his productions were as abundant and vigorous as ever. He published his "Baccalaureate Sermons" in 1885. He translated five ethical treatises of Cicero and Plutarch, adding to each volume an Introduction, a Synopsis and Notes, 1883-1886. A series of Lectures on Moral Philosophy appeared in 1887. This was followed by two delightful books entitled "Harvard Reminiscences," 1888, and "Harvard Graduates whom I have Known," 1890. Though he was not a brilliant speaker, with an imposing presence, a commanding voice, a fascinating delivery, he was in constant demand for the supply of pulpits. During the illness and after the death of the late Rev. Henry W. Foote, he preached to his society, and printed a volume of "King's Chapel Sermons" in 1891. He officiated every summer at the Nahant church, which is attended by those who hold different forms and creeds; and in 1894 a tablet was placed upon its walls "in memory of his acceptable ministrations to this church."

Dr. Peabody was not only a prolific writer, he was active in all good enterprises affecting the city in which he lived. He was interested in its charitable institutions; and he was chairman of the committee of clergymen, Catholic and Protestant, which for several successive years carried through the policy of "No License." He was for twelve years a prominent member of the School Committee; and one of the newest and best schoolhouses bears his name, and his portrait by E. T. Billings hangs in the Peabody School. He was Vice-President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and when asked if he would accept the Presidency, he replied that he would do so if he were younger, and he mentioned some changes which he would be glad to introduce. He was Vice-President of the American Antiquarian Society, and also of the American Oriental Society. For more than thirty years he was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a portrait of him by F. P. Vinton has been given to

it by Mrs. John L. Sibley. He was for seventeen years one of the managers of the Perkins Institution for the Blind ; and for fifty years he was a Vice-President of the American Peace Society, besides being at the head of many other charitable and religious societies. He was connected with Harvard University, from the time he entered as a student, thirty-nine years,¹ and no one ever served it in a more varied capacity. There is a marble bust of him in Gore Hall ; a portrait by Vinton will ultimately come into possession of the College ; and on the walls of Appleton Chapel has been affixed a bronze tablet, a gift of the Alumni, who also have established a fund for deserving students, in memory of him, thus continuing the work which it was his highest delight to do, and associating his name with it for all future generations. The inscription on the tablet is as follows :—

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, D.D., LL.D.

PLUMMER PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN MORALS AND PREACHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

BORN AT BEVERLY, MARCH 19, 1811

DIED AT CAMBRIDGE, MARCH 10, 1893

AUTHOR, EDITOR, TEACHER, PREACHER, HELPER OF MEN

THREE GENERATIONS LOOKED TO HIM

AS TO A BENEFACTOR, A FRIEND, A FATHER

HIS PRECEPT WAS GLORIFIED BY HIS EXAMPLE

WHILE FOR THIRTY-THREE YEARS

HE MOVED AMONG THE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

AND WIST NOT THAT HIS FACE SHONE

Dr. Peabody's last years were serene and peaceful, — a fitting crown to his long and useful life. Though old age had whitened his hair, it seemed not to have benumbed or palsied his spirit. His intellectual powers were unimpaired, and there was the same freshness of thought and aptness and terseness of expression. He grew ripe and mellow as he grew older.

¹ Student in College, 1824–1826	2 years.
In Divinity School, 1829–1832	3 “
Tutor, 1832–1833	1 “
Preacher and Professor, 1860–1881	21 “
Acting President, 1862, 1868–1869.	
Professor Emeritus, 1881–1893	12 “
Overseer, 1883–1893.	—
	39 years.

There was no querulousness or impatience, but only calmness, gentleness, sweetness in all that he said and did. His popularity was unbounded, and old and young delighted to do him honor. Venerable in aspect, he received love and reverence wherever he went; and when he rose in an assembly to offer prayer, there was a profound stillness, as if all recognized that here was a man who walked with God.

The death of Dr. Peabody at the age of 82 years created a profound impression. It occurred on March 10, 1893, after a month's illness resulting from a serious fall. It was felt by thousands of graduates as a public loss, and still more as a personal bereavement. Words of sorrow were expressed not only by the societies of which he was a member, but by religious bodies with which he had no official connection. This action was unprecedented in this community. The Baptist Pastors' Union said, "With men of every religious communion the members of this body join in paying the tribute of affectionate and reverent regard for the memory of the Christian Scholar, Preacher, and Citizen, by whose death the whole community is afflicted." The Clerical Association of the Episcopal Church signified their high appreciation of his noble life and character; and the Evangelical Alliance testified that he had been in the front rank of Christian writers and speakers, going up and down the State in services to religion and education. Eulogies were uttered in distant cities of the South and West, his pupils being scattered through every part of the country. A contributor to a leading Review alluded to the saintly Dr. Peabody, in whose company one lost the sense of friction and irritation which contact with the life of the day had produced, and took on involuntarily something of his restfulness and benignity. Another writer declared that what Arnold was to the boys at Rugby, Peabody was to the boys at Harvard. A Boston journalist remarked that Dr. Peabody was beloved and honored and trusted as no University preacher was ever trusted and honored, and that the only likeness to this in modern days was the influence exerted by Dr. Jowett of Oxford. The following lines are the conclusion of a poem which indicates the sentiments of very many who admired Dr. Peabody:—

"In the proud Memorial Hall
Let his portrait grace the wall;

Let the sculptor's godlike art
For the noblest do its part;
Let memorial building rise
Broad and lofty to the skies.
Build what monument ye can
To the friend of fellow-man,
No memorial can express
Half his nature's worthiness,
No memorial can reveal
Love that sons of Harvard feel."

Dr. Peabody's industry was amazing. He was a rigid economist of time. He improved every moment, and his untiring activity was the perpetual wonder of all who knew him. His literary productiveness never ceased, and even after his death articles were published which he had written, but which he did not live to read. Besides his books, reviews, innumerable articles, extensive correspondence, and weekly sermons, he printed two hundred pamphlets, which, if bound up together, would make a small library. These include Phi Beta Kappa orations and addresses at Dartmouth (1843), Harvard (1845), Brown (1858), Amherst (1867), Williams (1877); centennial commemorations, like that at Cambridge (1875); discourses at ordinations, dedications, and anniversaries; monographs on timely questions; and reports of committees on the High School and the College. He delivered the Dudleian Lecture in 1856, and he preached the sermon before the Legislature of Massachusetts at the annual election in 1872. He contributed chapters to important works, such as the Memorial History of Boston, Annals of King's Chapel, Annals of the American Unitarian Pulpit, authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and many others. As he had no amanuensis, the mere manual labor involved in writing out all those dissertations and correcting proof would to many persons be simply appalling. So accustomed was he to this, however, that he said that he felt "lost" if he had nothing in the press. His custom was to think slowly and write rapidly; and when he was to deliver an address on a special topic, he wished to be notified several weeks beforehand in order that he might meditate upon the subject, but after he had done this, he could put his thoughts on paper in a few hours.

Though he was constantly busy, he never seemed to be in

a hurry, but was calm and placid, and his manuscript was ready for the printer at the appointed time. He was not disturbed by being interrupted, and he was always willing to lay aside his pen in order to see a friend, or listen to an appeal, or to give counsel, or undertake new work. He rarely appeared wearied or exhausted, and his freshness and buoyancy were remarkable. Meeting him in the cars as he was returning to Cambridge late on Saturday evening, I said to him, "I suppose that you are ready for Sunday." "No," he answered, "I am going home to prepare for to-morrow." On my expressing surprise he added, "It rests me to write a sermon." In truth, his sermons were only the natural outbreathing of his spirit. Dr. Peabody could not have accomplished this vast amount of labor, working more than ten hours a day and often far into the night, so that his lamp was burning in the early morning, if he had not possessed a strong physical constitution. He kept it in repair by daily exercise, so that he was almost incapable of fatigue, was seldom ill, and was uniformly in good working order. He enjoyed mountain-climbing, and regarded it as the highest physical luxury possible, since it brought one set of muscles into play going up and another set going down. He frequently walked five or six, and sometimes even ten miles, before and after service on Sunday, when he went to exchange with another minister. For a large part of his success he was indebted to his stalwart frame and robust health, and especially to his indomitable will, which enabled him to accomplish whatever he undertook.

His scholarship covered a broad field, and his erudition was extensive. He was familiar with all the departments of his profession, and also was acquainted with philosophy, history, and general literature. He was a constant reader of the classics, which he admired as unsurpassed vehicles of thought and speech, and which he considered most helpful in forming a good English style of writing. Mathematical truth he valued as necessary and absolute truth, which must have been true before all worlds; and, so far as we grasp it, he maintained, God gives us glimpses of the plan of the universe, permits us to handle the compasses with which he meted out the earth and spread the heavens, and enables us to see precisely as he sees. "To undervalue mathematics were blasphemy, did not the stupidity of the offender cancel his guilt." Dr. Peabody's



knowledge was not only theoretical, but practical. He lectured at the Concord School of Philosophy on the Life and Times of Plato, and on the Ethics of Aristotle; and he prepared an article on the Prevention of Fires in American Cities, which an insurance company in Philadelphia caused to be reprinted and extensively circulated, and several of the recommendations of which have been adopted. At the commencement of the Harvard Medical School in 1870 he delivered an address on "What the Physician should be"; and he wrote for the Smithsonian Institution at Washington a paper on "The Scientific Education of Mechanics and Artisans." Of course he was not an expert on these several subjects, and did not possess a minute knowledge of all their details. But he had wide learning, sagacity, and experience, a comprehensive and well-furnished mind, and his addresses were profitable and interesting. Undoubtedly if he had concentrated his talents and energy, he might have produced some great work, which would have given him rank among thinkers and scholars, and perhaps have secured for him fame in future generations. But he would then have sacrificed the influence which he exerted on his contemporaries and on the rising generation, and he would not have served the present age as he did by responding to the numerous calls which were made upon him. He was in favor of maintaining a high standard of education for those who were preparing for the ministry, and during four successive years he offered the sum of two hundred dollars to be given in prizes for excellence in Semitic studies.

As a man Dr. Peabody was genial and companionable, and a favorite in every social circle. He was no book-worm or recluse, but he enjoyed society, especially the meetings of the Boston Wednesday Evening Club, of which he was an honorary member. His presence was often desired at private and public celebrations, and he generally went, and added much to the enjoyment of these occasions. On meeting others, at first he was reserved and reticent; but when a subject was once started, he entered into it with animation and earnestness, and poured forth his rich stores of information, enlivened often with sparkling reminiscence and spicy anecdote, which gave a peculiar charm to his conversation. He took pleasure in listening to a good story, and he could tell many a good one himself.

When he was an undergraduate, the system prevailed of fining students for absence from prayers, — three cents being exacted for each delinquency, and the whole amount being charged in the term bill ; and Dr. Peabody relates that on one occasion a member of his class, after an absence in his first year, was notified by the class tutor of his fine, whereupon he sent him a dollar bill and requested change ; but the Freshman was suspended. Dr. Peabody was faithful and true to his many friends, and his greetings were always cordial, for his heart went with his hand. But his most beautiful traits were manifested in his home. Here he was an ideal husband and father, and the best he had he lavished on those who were dearest to him. He loved to share with them whatever particularly interested him, and they in return were very attentive and devoted to him. The sharp sorrows which he experienced he bore with Christian faith and fortitude ; but the world did not know their bitterness, for he did not relax his work or refrain from the performance of any duty. He married, three years after his settlement in Portsmouth, Catherine Whipple, daughter of Edmund Roberts of that city, who died in 1869 ; and of eight children, three daughters now survive.

But, after all, Dr. Peabody's greatest influence was exerted through his character. He inspired men by what he was, more than by what he taught. In his presence one felt that he was in a purer atmosphere. His religion was not something apart from his daily life, but it was an aroma that was perpetually exhaled from it. A stranger could not meet him and converse with him without being impressed by his spirituality and goodness. Benignity was written on his countenance. He had a profound reverence for sacred things, and he was deeply stirred by any irreverence. He exhibited great firmness and independence, both of opinion and action. He had courage to condemn openly any act of injustice or wrong, and yet he was simple and unassuming as a child. He had much shrewdness and worldly wisdom, and could readily discern the right course in practical matters. His thoughtful and refined courtesy was the natural expression of his gracious spirit. He was conscientious in the discharge of little duties, was seldom absent from the meeting of any society of which he was a member, and was prompt in keeping his appointments. He had great sympathy and tenderness, and was easily moved,

especially on occasions of solemnity and sorrow, and his voice betrayed his emotions. He had a generous estimate of others, and preferred to see their excellences rather than their defects, and in his biographical sketches he said that he knew not how to paint in the shadows. He was never satisfied with simply performing the duties that were required of him. He gave freely of his time and strength to others. He compressed the work of three or four lives into one, and kept on growing till the last moment.

Dr. Peabody was noted for his broad, catholic, unsectarian spirit. He had his own decided convictions, but he appreciated the worth and work of those who differed from him. He recognized the fruits of the Spirit wherever they were manifested, and he rejoiced to feel that he was in accord with all sincere and devout persons by whatever name they might be called. The rector of an Episcopal church in New Jersey said: "He was not the most eloquent, not the most graceful, not the most learned man in the world. You could not compare him with Isaiah or Paul. But you could not help likening him to Saint John, the beloved disciple, who was so near to his Master that he imbibed a large share of his heavenly-mindedness. Half a dozen years ago it fell to my lot to read some verses in response to a toast on the 'Clerical Sons of the University' at a Harvard Club dinner in Chicago. There were churchmen and Roman Catholics and Jews and men of all denominations present at that merry-making; and as soon as I mentioned the name of this plain, modest, unobtrusive man of God, the entire company rose to their feet and gave nine thundering cheers. It was no tribute to the verses nor to the writer, but simply the just honor due to one whose greatest eulogy is: 'He served the Lord and wrought righteousness.'"

Dr. Peabody's ecclesiastical relations can be understood from his own words. In 1886 he said: "While I regard the portion of the Christian Church with which I am associated as my religious home, in which, as I was born and baptized in it, I hope to stay so long as I have a home on earth, I am more and more impressed with the belief that all the leading sects of Christendom have a just claim on our regard for the very dogmas in which they seem most to differ from us; for there is hardly one of those dogmas which is not the maimed or

distorted reflection of some truth which we neglect or ignore only to our cost and detriment."

Again in 1889 he wrote:—

"Circumstances have placed me in intimate relations with many ministers and Christian men and women of all our leading denominations, and I am fully convinced that there is among the various portions of the church a much more nearly equable distribution of God's choicest gifts than bigoted sectarians are willing to admit. I have in no quarter of the church failed to find many whom I could both admire and love. Yet, were I to select special models as Christians and ministers, I should not need to look beyond the pale of those ministers of our faith whom I learned to love and honor in my youth, and whose memory is among the blessed and priceless privileges of my old age."

During Dr. Peabody's residence in Cambridge he came in contact with numberless students, and touched more lives than could be reached by a minister of the largest city parish. The remembrance of him in the University which he loved, and which he served so long, cannot pass away; but he will be associated with Harvard as Mark Hopkins, who was his intimate friend, is associated with Williams College, and as Theodore D. Woolsey and Francis Wayland are associated with Yale and Brown Universities. And when we call to mind the literary, religious, educational, philanthropic institutions and societies with which he has been identified, the memorials that have been erected in his honor, and the imperishable monument which he has built by the influence he has exerted on individuals and the community, we may apply to him the words of the Latin poet,—

"Ergo etiam, cum me supremus adederit ignis,
Vivam: parsque mei multa superstes erit."



MEMOIR
OF
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, D.C.L.
BY JOHN T. MORSE, JR.

A DOCTRINE upon which Dr. Holmes took great pains to insist, to the point of getting himself into much discredit with many of the more strict religionists of his day, was that of the controlling force of inherited influences. One would have expected that such a chief among the teachers of the principles of heredity would be a careful student concerning his own ancestry. Yet the contrary was the case, and what knowledge of his forefathers Dr. Holmes had came to him casually and by reason of interest felt by others rather than by himself. He knew that Thomas Holmes, a lawyer, of Gray's Inn, in the sixteenth century, was one of his ancestors; but it would seem that he never surely knew whether or not the line ran through Sir Robert Holmes and Admiral Charles Holmes, "Wolfe's contemporary," though both were men of sufficient note to make kinship with them a matter of satisfaction. The first cis-atlantic Holmes of whom there is record was named John, who, in 1686, was "taken in, on the way, by the company of 'Goers,'" that is to say, settlers, who had a grant of the lands which afterward constituted the town of Woodstock in Connecticut. Among them John Holmes made himself noteworthy by his capacity for doing many useful things and by his enterprising spirit. In that same neighborhood his descendants remained for many generations; they were of the better class of the semi-rural population of New England, God-fearing and industrious, respecting knowledge and practising virtue, and moderately prosperous in worldly matters. Abiel Holmes, the father of Oliver Wendell Holmes, was graduated

at Yale College "with honour and a respectable part at Commencement" in 1783; and he married for his first wife Mary, daughter of the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D., who was then the president of that College. For several years after this marriage he was settled as the minister of a parish in Georgia. Afterward he returned to the North, and became pastor of the First Congregational Church in Cambridge. In 1801 he married, in second nuptials, Sarah Wendell, daughter of the Hon. Oliver Wendell, of Boston. She was one of the large and influential family of that name, of whom the first American ancestor came from Holland to Albany, New York, about 1640. Thomas Dudley, twice governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, had a daughter Anne, famous as "The Tenth Muse," who married Simon Bradstreet, also twice governor; the granddaughter of this couple married Dr. James Oliver, and their daughter Sarah married Jacob Wendell, who had come from Albany to Boston; his son married Mary Jackson, the daughter of Edward (the son of Jonathan), who had married Dorothy Quincy. Thus was Dr. Holmes descended from the "Dorothy Q." of his charming poem, and from whom also his wife was descended.

The father of Dr. Holmes was a handsome gentleman, kindly and amiable, with a taste for writing verses which were moderately good, and a more useful turn for historical research, which bore fruit in his "Annals of America," a book of substantial merit and once well known, though of late superseded by more modern writings. He was a tolerably rigid Calvinist of the stern old school, and believed, or thought that he believed, the many hideous things which the great Jonathan Edwards had taught to his disciples. But his wife's family, having prospered in mercantile pursuits and lived in larger communities, had acquired also more expanded ways of thinking, and it would seem that the children felt their mother's influence as an emollient for the dread theology of the reverend gentleman. She was a vivacious, clever lady, of social instincts, sympathetic, perhaps one might say emotional, and very much loved and esteemed by her neighbors. Those who knew her personally or by tradition have said that her distinguished son owed more of his mental traits to her than to his father.

On August 29, 1809, Oliver Wendell Holmes was born.

His father recorded the fact in a little almanac by placing an asterisk opposite the date; and the footnote, to which the asterisk referred, was simply "son b." Long years afterwards, when the Doctor found this almanac, he was greatly amused at so casual and brief a mention of what he himself had a right to regard as a rather important circumstance.

The boy went to the schools of the neighborhood until he was fifteen years old, and was then sent to Phillips Academy at Andover, doubtless with at least a willingness on his father's part that he should become a clergyman. But the youngster had had his fill of the clerical gentry at home, where it would seem that not many of his father's visitors had agreeably impressed him. So the Academy, during the year of his stay there, only made him ready for Harvard College, not for the ministry. He entered college, with credit, as a member of the Class of 1829,— "the famous Class of '29," as it has been so often called, being entitled to the flattering adjective partly because it contained an unusual number of men who gained distinction in later life, but undoubtedly greatly helped in its reputation by the fact that Dr. Holmes became its bard and sang songs for it. Among these were some of his most charming lyrics; and at least one was written every year, from (and including) 1851 to 1889, when "After the Curfew" closed the brilliant series with its last pathetic verse, —

"So ends 'The Boys,' — a lifelong play.
We too must hear the Prompter's call
To fairer scenes and brighter day:
Farewell! I let the curtain fall."

Thus far, in boyhood and youth, Dr. Holmes had shown no precocity which could be regarded as giving promise of his future brilliant career. He himself says that, up to the time of his graduation, he had read singularly few books; and his letters written during these years, though lively, are not especially clever. The year after his graduation he passed in the Dane Law School; but he did not take kindly to the law, and yielded to literary instincts which seemed then first to assert themselves. His friend John O. Sargent, of the Class of 1830, was editing "The Collegian," and the law student liked to contribute verses to this magazine much better than to attend the lectures of the learned professors Story and Ash-

mun. Some of these effusions were afterward saved among the later collections of his poetry, but most of them the Doctor absolutely refused to have republished. But in this year one lyric outburst made him for the moment famous. He happened one day to read a paragraph in a newspaper stating that the old historic frigate, the "Constitution," in the Navy Yard at Charlestown, was ordered to be destroyed as useless. Stirred by the news, he rapidly scratched off with a pencil on a scrap of paper — literally *stans pede in uno* at his father's mantel-piece — the ringing stanzas of "Old Ironsides," and sent them to the "Boston Daily Advertiser." A few days later they were being sung all over the country, were even printed in handbills and circulated about the streets in Washington. It would be difficult to say whether the young poet or the Secretary of the Navy was the more astonished at the development of this entirely unexpected condition; but the frigate was saved, and Oliver Wendell Holmes was heard of.

At the end of his unsatisfactory year of law Holmes left it for medicine. He studied for a while in a private school conducted by Dr. James Jackson and other physicians practising in Boston, and, having satisfied himself that he had made no mistake in his choice this time, he went abroad to complete his education in Paris. He sailed on March 30, 1833, and got home again in the last month of the year 1835. During this period he had the advantage of studying under Louis, and the most famous French physicians and surgeons of that day; he found time in the vacation seasons for trips through the Low Countries, England, and Scotland, and finally into Italy; but during all the lecture terms he worked with great steadiness and earnestness, became profoundly interested in his profession, and was well equipped for practice when he set up his professional door-plate in Boston. But none the less patients came slowly to the young doctor, and he found leisure enough for collateral pursuits. In 1836-37 he won three Boylston prizes; and for two years — 1839, 1840 — he delivered lectures on anatomy during August, September, and October, at Dartmouth College. In 1842 he wrote his two papers on homœopathy, in which occur, though probably few people know it, some of his most brilliant similes and his keenest wit. He had no love for that "pseudo-science," as he called it; and he wrote trenchantly. In 1843 he published his famous essay on

the "Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever." It subjected him to violent and even grossly abusive attacks for some time, especially at the hands of certain professors in Philadelphia. But it embodied a great truth, which in time prevailed, revolutionizing the practice of midwifery and winning for Dr. Holmes just renown as one who had saved countless lives by a substantial and invaluable contribution to medical science. He gained also much credit for refusing to be drawn into an angry personal controversy, which might have imperilled the success of a cause which he earnestly believed to involve an important interest for mankind.

On June 15, 1840, Dr. Holmes married Amelia Lee Jackson, third daughter of Hon. Charles Jackson, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. The children of this marriage were: Oliver Wendell Holmes, who became a lieutenant-colonel in the War of the Rebellion, and is now an Associate Justice upon the same Bench on which his grandfather sat; Amelia Jackson Holmes, who married Turner Sargent, of Boston, and died, childless, in 1889; and Edward Jackson Holmes, who married Henrietta Wigglesworth, of Boston, and died in 1884, leaving one son, Edward Jackson Holmes.

In 1847 Dr. Holmes received the appointment of Parkman Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical School of Harvard University; in addition to these two subjects he was sometimes called upon to give instruction also in microscopy and even in matters akin to psychology. This multiplicity of functions led him to say that he occupied not a chair, but a settee in the School. The preposterousness of demanding so much from one man was obvious, and in course of time, in 1871, the situation was rendered more reasonable by the establishment of a separate professorship for physiology. Dr. Holmes continued to deliver the anatomical lectures until November, 1882. It was doubtless the case that he was not induced to this long continuance of functions, which were more laborious than they seemed, solely by reason of the annual emolument. The truth was that he was much enamoured of his profession, and would have been extremely loath to find himself severed from it. His success in literature never displaced his interest in medical science, and he sedulously guarded and maintained his comradeship in the fraternity of

physicians. Nor would they have been less reluctant to let him go. Professor William Osler well said of him, "He will always occupy a unique position in the affections of medical men. Not a practitioner, yet he retained for the greater part of his active life the most intimate connection with the profession. . . . The festivals at Epidaurus were never neglected by him; and as the most successful combination which the world has ever seen of the physician and the man of letters, he has for years sat amid the Æsculapians in the seat of honor." At the banquets of the brotherhood he was the generous purveyor of wit and wisdom in poetry and in prose, and they made free use of his serviceable ability.

From 1847 to 1853 he was Dean of the Medical School. In 1852 he was anniversary chairman at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society. In 1860 he was the orator at the annual meeting of the same Society. When at last in his old age he was obliged to retire from active service, the physicians of New York gave in his honor a great festival at Delmonico's.

As a lecturer on anatomy, he was fortunate in having a department wherein novelty and development necessarily came in limited measure; but he never fell into the habit of reading to his class old lectures, as clergymen deliver old sermons; by constant study and preparation he aimed always at freshness of treatment. He was not, perhaps, exceptionally distinguished as a lecturer or instructor, but he certainly was fully equal to the requirements of the position. One rare gift he had which was soon recognized and made use of, — he, and he alone, could hold the attention of the fagged and turbulent classes of the medical students of those days, who were sent to listen to him during their fifth hour of consecutive attendance at lectures! Dr. David W. Cheever¹ and Professor Thomas Dwight,² who both had assisted him as "demonstrators," have borne eloquent testimony to his extraordinary capacity in this respect. Even over the dry bones his wit sparkled; his similes and imagery delighted the crude and often rough youths before him; his courtesy, his patience, his amiable temper subdued them into comparative quietude and even attention. It was his rule always to address himself to the lower rather than to the

¹ In the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, vol. iii. no. 10, December, 1894.

² *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. xvii. no. 1, January, 1895.

higher half of the class; and Professor Dwight thinks that it was a "part of his humanity" to do so. A greater scientist might have been less successful in imparting knowledge. For, in fact, it cannot be said that Dr. Holmes became a great scientist. He might have been so, had he had a little more persistence, a somewhat greater infusion of the Dryasdust in his rather eager and impetuous temperament. His fertile, imaginative mind often shed suggestions, and then left them for other men to push farther towards valuable results, which he never had the patience quite to arrive at.

It should be said of him, before dismissing this part of his life, that he maintained a careful equilibrium in all the matters of advance and innovation which arose during his long incumbency as a member of the medical faculty. He was always progressive, yet he did not wish to go at a gallop; he did not want to strike a pace which would upset the cart and spill its valuable contents, — if the simile is not too undignified. Dr. Cheever says that he "was at heart favorable to advance, but he was timid as to the losses and dangers of radical changes, although not a violent opponent." The great struggle for the admission of women students to the Medical School was waged in his day. His position compelled him to vote on the question, and he voted in the negative. Perhaps he would have liked to remain silent, had he been free to do so; for it is by no means certain how he stood in what was then, if it is not so still, the great controversy concerning women as practising physicians. Dr. Cheever thinks he "inclined to the claims" of the women, and Dr. Dwight is of the like opinion; yet there are remarks in his writings which would indicate much doubt in his mind, if not an actually contrary opinion. When the smoke of this great battle was lifting, if not altogether gone, at the opening of the new building of the Harvard Medical School, Dr. Holmes delivered an address, and Professor Dwight tells the following anecdote: —

"On this occasion, after speaking in his most perfect style on woman as a nurse, with a pathos free from mawkishness which Dickens rarely reached, he concluded: 'I have always felt that this was rather the vocation of woman than general medical, and especially surgical, practice.' This was the signal for loud applause from the conservative side. When he could resume, he went on: 'Yet I myself followed the course of lectures given by the young Madame Lachapelle in Paris; and if here

and there an intrepid woman insists on taking by storm the fortress of medical education, I would have the gate flung open to her, as if it were that of the citadel of Orleans and she were Joan of Arc returning from the field of victory.' The enthusiasm which this sentiment called forth was so overwhelming that those of us who had led the first applause felt, perhaps looked, rather foolish."

Meantime also, being under the common necessity of making money to pay his bills, Dr. Holmes was engaged very actively in delivering other lectures besides professional ones. The generation was smitten with the lecturing mania. Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Dr. Kane, and many more scarcely less familiar names, sent out what they had to say from the lecture platform before they put it in print; Thackeray and Froude and Alfred Bunn crossed the Atlantic to do likewise; and their audiences were composed of the people whom it was best worth while to address in all the country. The small towns, even the villages, followed the example of the cities and had their "lyceum courses." Dr. Holmes played a busy part in this labor. He delivered a course of twelve lectures on the English poets at the Lowell Institute, closing each one with an original poem of his own. But besides this he travelled about the country, earning the small fees of that day with much toil and no little disgust. He extremely disliked the travelling, the cold inns, or "best bedrooms," the bad food, the stifling cars. As he himself expressed it, he was apt to return from such forays with a cold in the head as bad as a horse distemper. He suffered severely from asthma, of which such journeys were very provocative; and it is safe to say that he looked upon this element in his life with less satisfaction than upon any other.

All this while, of course, he was collaterally practising medicine, and he built up a fair, though not a really extensive business. In fact, his heart was not enough in the occupation to make him greatly successful as a practitioner; he acknowledged afterward that he did not make sufficiently strenuous efforts to secure practice. He had some admirable qualifications for it, — a faithful conscientiousness even to the point of over-anxiety, and a faculty of observation so keen and close as is rarely given to any man. But sick-beds were painful to him, and moreover the public perhaps had some distrust of a

man so well known as a wit and not unknown as a poet. For all this while the Doctor had been occasionally uttering his lyrics. In 1836 he had been the Phi Beta Kappa poet, and in the same year he had published this poem, with many of his shorter pieces, in a volume. Later, another edition, with additions, was published. He had had his attack of "lead-poisoning," and of course could never get over it. It was a pleasant sensation to see the volume with his name on the back, but it hardly helped him in the popular estimation as a physician. Most of the lyrics were light, rollicking effusions of wit and merriment; but "The Last Leaf" was there among them, one of the most delicate combinations of pathos and humor in literature.

Thus the long procession of the years glided lightly and pleasantly by, and there was nothing yet to indicate that Dr. Holmes's name would be remembered after his own contemporaries should have passed off the stage. They knew him only as a clever man, a medical professor who lectured creditably, a poet whose lines were good enough to have been once or twice gathered into a volume, a shrewd humorist, a merry wit, delightful in the chance encounter, not to be surpassed at the dinner-table, and of much usefulness upon so-called "occasions"; and this was all as yet. But a new departure was at hand. Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. projected a new magazine. "Putnam's Magazine" had perished in an undeserved failure, and the country had no literary periodical of high repute. The firm invited James Russell Lowell to act as editor. He consented to do so, but with the proviso, as a "condition precedent," that Dr. Holmes would agree to be a contributor. The invitation surprised the Doctor as much as it flattered him. Hitherto he had felt himself, as he says, quite outside of the literary circle, which was then made up chiefly of residents in Cambridge, with some in Boston and a few in Concord. He had not been one of the guild. Most of these men were engaged in promoting "causes,"—abolition, temperance, emancipation from Calvinism, etc. Many years before this time efforts had been made to enlist Dr. Holmes in the like service; but he had resolutely declined, and there is a long and very interesting letter extant, which he wrote to Mr. Lowell in 1846, in reply to a letter from Mr. Lowell to him, which unfortunately cannot be found, but which had evidently taken him

to task pretty strenuously for standing aloof from the stress of these moral struggles.

So now the Doctor would hardly have expected to find so high a value placed upon his adhesion to the new enterprise. He hesitated, but briefly; an instinct was stirred within him to which he could not fail to yield. He agreed to write; he even suggested the name for the new magazine, — "The Atlantic." Mr. Howells afterward said that he "not only named, but made" it. For the enterprise was launched in a most disastrous time; scarcely was it started, when the financial panic of 1857 swept over the country; men who had previously been reckless of their dollars now became anxious custodians of their cents, and thought more than twice before they would lay down even the twenty-five-cent piece which the new magazine cost. Often they would not have laid it down, had they not been under the strong spell of the "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table." Those fresh and brilliant papers, too witty to be weighty, too wise to be frivolous, came like rays of cheering sunshine into the daily lives of the anxious men of business; they could not do without such medicine. It is not an extravagance to say that the country waited with impatience for each new number, and the monthly interval seemed all too long. They were something new in literature; they were sparkling, delightful, instructive, fascinating. Yet in fact they were not absolutely a new birth. "I was just going to say, when I was interrupted" — was the first sentence of the "Autocrat"; for he had been born long before in the shape of two papers which the Doctor had contributed to the "New England Magazine," a periodical which had lived a short life from 1831 to 1835. But these forerunners, though much like the later papers in spirit and style, and though only a little inferior in quality, the Doctor would never allow to be republished; so the "Autocrat" whom the world knows began his career at the breakfast-table in the first number of the "Atlantic."

It is not worth while, indeed it would be out of place here, to indulge in literary comment on this book. Everything has been said about it which can be said by hosts of writers of the critic band. But the novelty of the conception, of the style and execution, should not be forgotten, only because the world has become familiar with it. Nothing, of course, can be absolutely new in literature; but these papers came as near to being

a creation as anything can come: they showed the creative intellect; they entitled Dr. Holmes's admirers to say that the fire which burned in him was fed by genius rather than by talents. The twelve papers made him at once famous, not only in the United States, but throughout England, and in time also upon the Continent of Europe, though of course a close familiarity with the English language was essential to a just appreciation of them. Only a small percentage of their racy and *racial* qualities could be transferred into another tongue.

It was now evident that Dr. Holmes could write prose which was far better than his poetry; yet poetry was by no means, therefore, abandoned. It was, however, in a certain way subordinated to prose, his lyrics being hereafter embalmed in his prose articles. Thus "The Chambered Nautilus," which Whittier said was "booked for immortality," appeared in one of the Autocrat papers, and similar gems were sprinkled liberally throughout the Breakfast Table Series. This was well, for Dr. Holmes was essentially a lyric poet, a "singer," and his longer and more elaborate efforts will be forgotten many years before his shorter poems are allowed to sink out of memory. Like Horace, he was especially happy upon "occasions," and the verses which he was induced to write upon such special provocations have in an unusual degree the elements of vitality and permanent charm. Yet the Doctor had a certain uneasy feeling about these verses, which he could make so charmingly. "These occasional poems are fatal to any poet save Dr. Holmes," said Whittier; and the Doctor feared that, if not fatal, they might at least be unwholesome even for him. He once wrote to Mr. Lowell:—

"It seems to me that I have done almost enough of this work; *too much*, some of my friends will say perhaps. But it has been as much from good nature as from vanity that I have so often got up and jangled my small string of bells. I hold it to be a gift of a certain value to be able to give that slight passing spasm of pleasure which a few ringing couplets often cause, read at the right moment. Though they are for the most part to poetry as the beating of a drum or the tinkling of a triangle is to the harmony of a band, yet it is not everybody who can get their limited significance out of those humble instruments. I think, however, that I have made myself almost too common by my readiness to oblige people on all sorts of occasions. At any rate, many of the trifles, which served their turn with the bouquets and the confectionery, ought to have withered and crumbled with them."

This jealousy concerning his reputation as a poet indicates Dr. Holmes's real ambition, which unquestionably was to be thought a poet much more than anything else. The fascination of that word of charm had bewitched him, as it has so many others. It implied genius, inspiration, a spark of the divine fire, — embellishments not regarded as necessary for the full equipment of the best man who ever wrote mere prose. It signified that he was one of a very small band; also that, at least for a long while yet to come, he would not glide down the sloping road to oblivion. So beyond a doubt Dr. Holmes wanted to be esteemed a genuine *poet*; and in the moments in which he pictured himself to himself in the most pleasing light, it was as a poet. He occasionally spoke of his manner of writing poetry, — to the effect that when he took his pen in hand he knew not whither it would carry him; he became but a voice for the thought which was sent to him. Such is the formula for poetic inspiration. He who receives it is called a genius. Was there such inspiration for him? Was he, in poetry, a genius? Let each of his readers answer for himself; this memoirist shirks the responsibility of guiding any one's judgment in so momentous a matter.

Nearly coeval in birth with the "Atlantic Monthly" was the beginning of the Saturday Club, — an institution very famous in Boston and a great element in the Doctor's life. He says: "At about the same time [with the establishment of the magazine] there grew up in Boston a literary association which became at last well known as the 'Saturday Club,' the members dining together on the last Saturday of every month. The magazine and the club . . . have often been thought to have some organic connection, and 'The Atlantic Club' has been spoken of as if there was or had been such an institution, but it never existed."¹ Mr. F. H. Underwood, in a letter to Dr. Holmes, took him to task for having somewhere spoken of the "Atlantic Club" as "supposititious," and certainly adduced evidence in support of his own position that there was for a while an actual club of that name; but the Doctor evidently thought that he knew as much as any one else did about the matter, and stuck to his colors very positively.²

¹ Life of Emerson, p. 221, where there is more on the same topic.

² I fear that the weight of evidence is against the accuracy of the Doctor's memory, in this matter.

Some outsiders furnished still another name for this much-entitled Club. They called it "The Mutual Admiration Society," and sometimes laughed a little, as though the designation were a trifle derogatory. Yet the brethren within the pale were nowise disturbed by this witticism. "If there was not," says Dr. Holmes, "a certain amount of 'mutual admiration' among some of those I have mentioned, it was a great pity, and implied a defect in the nature of men who were otherwise largely endowed." Possibly one or two of these gentlemen might have been criticised for admiring themselves, but it did seem hard to blame them for being sufficiently intelligent and generous to admire each other.

Outside the sacred *penetralia* which were shut within his own front-door, nothing else in Dr. Holmes's life gave him so much pleasure as did this Club. He loved it; he hugged the thought of it. When he was writing to Lowell and Motley in Europe, he seemed to think that merely to name "*The Club*" was enough to give a genial flavor to his page. He would tell who were present at the latest meeting, and where they sat. He would recur to those who used to come, and mention their habitual seats,—matters which his correspondents already knew perfectly well. But the names were sweet things in his mouth; and he seemed to feel sure that this mere recital would make his letter welcome, no matter how little else of news or interest it might contain. In the later days there came to be something pathetic about his attachment to that which still had existence and yet for him was almost all a memory. In 1883 he wrote, in a letter to Lowell: "I go to the Saturday Club quite regularly, but the company is more of ghosts than of flesh and blood for me. I carry a stranger there now and then, introduce him to the members who happen to be there, and then say: There at that end used to sit Agassiz,—here, at this end, Longfellow,—Emerson used to be there, and Lowell often next him; on such an occasion Hawthorne was with us, at another time Motley, and Sumner, and smaller constellations—*nebulae*, if you will, but luminous more or less in the provincial firmament." There are many passages in this same strain. In 1885, when all the old faces save two or three must have gone, he wrote, in his vein mingled of wit and pathos, to John M. Forbes: "I should like to see Tom Hughes at the Club; it is a long while

since I have met him. *You will come, and if nothing hinders I shall be there; and, if tres faciunt collegium, duo faciunt clubbum.*"

Of course, the Autocrat did justice to his lordly title by founding a dynasty. He had not been long silent when the Professor succeeded him at the famous Breakfast-Table. Probably enough the Doctor, who was ever buoyant and sanguine, did not, in the bottom of his heart, feel much doubt that he was going to score another success; but he began the new papers with a delightful sentence, which may be described as a sort of modest compliment to himself: "The question is whether there is anything left for me, the Professor, to suck out of creation, after my lively friend (the Autocrat) has had his straw in the bung-hole of the universe." This new-comer did not talk quite in the vein of his predecessor; he chose more serious topics, he was much graver, and exacted closer attention from his hearers. There was a great deal of discussion about creeds and tenets which have been the subjects of religious controversy. Dr. Holmes said that he handled these matters "only incidentally." His readers will hardly agree with him,—they will think of the case of the tail wagging the dog. Of course the lively conversational style was retained, and the flashes of wit and humor were never far apart. By this means the Professor held many auditors who otherwise would have found him too serious. But his hand was ever light, sprightly, and varied in its touch, so that no one fagged under it. Because the Professor was less entertaining than the Autocrat, he has been, perhaps, a little less famous, and less widely popular; yet, being more thoughtful and more profound, he has pleased some people better.

After the Professor became silent, eleven years elapsed before the landlady had another boarder whose talk was up to the printing standard. Then, in 1871, the Poet took the vacant chair. He was a very charming fellow, yet not quite so agreeable as his predecessors had been. When the Doctor undertook to compete with himself, he met a formidable rival. He was like the great race-horses who come to the pole, matched to beat their own best time; he trotted gallantly, but his "record" was too much for him. If the "Autocrat" and the "Professor" had not been written, the "Poet" would have been esteemed a very brilliant piece of work, as in

fact it was; but they had been written, and in the way of comparison their new comrade brought just a trifle of disappointment.

No attentive reader of the Professor could fail to foresee what would be Dr. Holmes's next literary venture, for these papers held the skeleton of a story and some very well drawn characters. Accordingly, in due period, "Elsie Venner" was born, wearing at first the title of "The Professor's Story," but later taking her own name. The critics have dealt severely with this book. They admit that it abounds in brilliant passages, that it is generously impregnated with New Englandism, that local color was never shed upon paper more charmingly than in the description of the party at "the elegant residence of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Colonel Sprowle." But having said these things, some go on to say that the book has too much monologue by the author, and others object to the snake-element as displeasing. All agree that it has the fatal artistic defect of being a "novel with a purpose." It may be true that such a novel will rarely survive the disappearance of its purpose, by reason either of achievement or conclusive defeat. Certain it is, however, that whether Elsie Venner was or was not justly entitled to popularity, she enjoyed it, and for many years was widely read and eagerly discussed, nor is it yet time to be composing an epitaph for her tombstone.

Even the papers of the Autocrat had stirred the suspicions of the religious community, still very numerous and powerful at that time, which held the rigid tenets of the old New England Calvinism, and believed in the doctrines which had been taught by Jonathan Edwards. These people were disturbed and angry at the very keen and shining lance which the new-comer seemed to be setting in rest against them. Then came along the Professor, and stirred them up much more sharply, and they felt themselves called upon to denounce Dr. Holmes as an open assailant of Christianity. "Elsie Venner" was greatly worse still. It sought to show that inherited influences were often of absolutely determining force; therefore it seriously curtailed moral responsibility; and if it was founded in truth, it established that the commission of sins did not necessarily mean that the sinner was a criminal. For uttering such teachings, it was inevitable that Dr. Holmes

should be assailed by a large and influential body of opponents, with extreme bitterness. It is neither proper nor possible in such a memoir as this to go into so large a discussion, in which so much feeling might still be aroused. It may be assumed that his theories have been sufficiently disputed over, during the last quarter of a century, for every one to have reached his own conclusions concerning the questions involved; and doubtless it is also safe to say that the ranks of the Doctor's opponents have been greatly thinned in this conflict, and that desertions to his side have taken place in enormous numbers. I shall therefore content myself with quoting an interesting passage from a letter which the Doctor wrote to Mrs. Stowe, setting forth his purpose:—

“You see exactly what I wish to do: to write a story with enough of interest in its characters and incidents to attract a certain amount of popular attention. Under cover of this to *stir* that mighty question of automatic agency in its relation to self-determination. To do this by means of a palpable outside agency, predetermining certain traits of character and certain apparently voluntary acts, such as the common judgment of mankind and the tribunals of law and theology have been in the habit of recognizing as sin and crime. Not exactly insanity, either general or partial, in its common sense, but rather an unconscious intuitive tendency, dating from a powerful antenatal influence, which modifies the whole organization. To make the subject of this influence interest the reader, to carry the animalizing of her nature just as far as can be done without rendering her repulsive, to redeem the character in some measure by humanizing traits, which struggle through the lower organic tendencies, to carry her on to her inevitable fate by the natural machinery of circumstance, grouping many human interests around her, which find their natural solution in the train of events involving her doom,—such is the idea of this story. It is conceived in the fear of God and in the love of man. Whether I am able to work out my delicate and difficult problem or not, is not of so much consequence. A man may fulfil the object of his existence by asking a question he cannot answer, and attempting a task he cannot achieve.”

After the public had mulled for half a dozen years over the stirring problems presented by Elsie Venner, Dr. Holmes gave them a new novel, “The Guardian Angel.” Properly viewed, this was a step forward, because “Elsie Venner” had based its problem on an abnormal, if not an impossible, instance,

and therefore had left open a back door, whereby one could sneak away from giving a decisive answer to the questions raised. But Myrtle Hazard's case was a simple one of heredity. In a literary way, too, the second book far surpassed the earlier. If it was less weird and picturesque,—or shall we say fantastic,—it was also far more artistic. Evidently "Elsie Venner" is going always to be regarded as Dr. Holmes's most "important canvas," to borrow the language of the painter fraternity; but "The Guardian Angel" is much better work. In its earlier half, every page sparkles with the gems of wisdom, wit, and humor; the reader is dazzled, and, however alert he may be, cannot look back without finding that he has missed something fine. As a picture of New England people at or shortly before the time when the book was written nothing could be more graphic, and the *mise en scène* was worthy of the men and women who moved in it. The rural town of Massachusetts in the middle third of this century is as well drawn as the country society of England was drawn in the fascinating novels of Jane Austen.

It was not until 1884–85 that Dr. Holmes gave to the world his third and last novel, "A Mortal Antipathy," of which mention may be made here, with propriety of topic though not of chronology. At the time of writing it he was far past the creative age, and the book showed the fact too plainly. The problem, too, though akin to that of the other novels, was, in comparison, weak and uninteresting. The Doctor was "young for his years," but too old to do any more work in fiction. He himself seems to have been aware in a measure, though not fully, of the difference between this and his previous work.

Dr. Holmes concerned himself little in public affairs. Conservative instincts, or rather tastes, struggled in him with intellectual opinions. Up to the time of the war he certainly was far from being an Abolitionist, and could not even be called an anti-slavery man in a proper sense of that term. But the war found him, or instantly made him, a strenuous Unionist, and quickly converted him into an advocate of emancipation. The three wounds of his distinguished son, Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, doubtless strengthened, though they were by no means necessary to create, these sentiments.

He wrote some ringing war lyrics, full of spirit and fire; but they were a little too good to be appreciated by the average soldier, and therefore could not rival the more popular songs. In 1863 he delivered the Fourth of July oration, in Boston. It was an admirable address, showing a rare combination of qualities, some of which even his admirers might hardly have given him credit for. It deserves a longer existence than, perhaps, it will attain.

Amid all these occupations, which together made a busy and crowded life, the Doctor glided gently and imperceptibly down the stream of time, and reached old age in such good condition that he, and others too, might have failed to find out that he had done so, had not there come to him a reminder from a source altogether external. In December, 1879, the publishers of the "Atlantic" gave a stupendous banquet in his honor, and the excuse for it was that he had reached, in the preceding summer, the scriptural age of threescore years and ten. It is a time in the life of man which holds a peril that many dread more than death,—the peril of being old and not knowing it. Most carefully was the Doctor protecting himself against this; he was watching himself very closely, turning upon himself the full force of that marvellous power of observation with which he was gifted. He felt assured, and correctly so, that though seventy years might have slipped away since he was born, he was still in good working order. Therefore during three years more he continued his lectures at the Medical School, and then resigned because, as he said, he wished to give his remaining years to literary labor,—not, by any means, to repose. His friends were beginning to drop away from his side; but he refused to yield to depression, and remained buoyant, cheerful, and sanguine. In 1878 he was busy on a Memoir of John Lothrop Motley,—a touching and affectionate tribute to the brilliant gentleman whom he had very dearly loved. In 1884 he was very hard at work on the "Life of Emerson," which he contributed to the "American Men of Letters Series." This cost him much close and severe labor; it was not at all in his line, and it was a topic of great intrinsic difficulty. But the reading public found the volume very satisfactory, and it has had the seal of popularity set upon it.

Of the "Mortal Antipathy," published in 1885, mention has

already been made. In March, 1888, the Doctor began the series of papers which he happily christened "Over the Teacups." It would be idle to pretend that they are as good as the talk of "The Autocrat"; but they make very pleasant reading, with abundant infusion of the old-time wit, wisdom, and humor. Indeed, the display of these qualities, surviving in such freshness and luxuriance after eighty years of life, was an occurrence nearly, if not altogether, unprecedented in literature. The papers were really a magnificent *tour de force* by a spirited old man, unyielding, holding his own against the column of the hostile years. The Doctor had been not a little anxious as to the reception which would be accorded to his reappearance in the colloquial vein. He wrote to an English friend: "I don't suppose I can make my evening teacups as much of a success as my morning coffee cups were, but I have found an occupation, and my friends encourage me with the assurance that I am not yet in my second childhood." He had modestly "thought that he had something left to say," and he was gratified when he "found listeners." Although he had "cleared the eight-barred gate," and could not be far from the ultimate deadly goal, the gallant old gentleman said: "New sympathies, new sources of encouragement, if not of inspiration, have opened themselves before me, and cheated the least promising season of life of much that seemed to render it dreary and depressing." Of course the way in which the public and the critics took the book was most gratifying; but the Doctor spoke with shrewd, though gratified, modesty about "those wintry products of my freezing wits."

The most remarkable feature in these papers is the poem of "The Broomstick Train," so humorous in conception, so spirited and lilting in execution. It was a marvel as the production of a man upwards of eighty years of age. The old gentleman was pleased, and had reason to be, with the compliments which friends lavished upon these dashing stanzas, the wonderful outburst of an octogenarian muse. He wrote to Mr. Warner: "It made me feel young to write it, and I am glad you thought it had something of the elasticity of youth in it. An old tree can put forth a leaf as green as that of a young one, and looks at it with a pleasant sort of surprise, I suppose, as I do at my saucily juvenile production."

Dr. Holmes had lived in Boston, with the exception of

summer sojournings at Pittsfield and at Beverly Farms, ever since he came home from his medical studies in Paris, — an extraordinary record for a man of such activity of mind and variety of interests, and so exceptionally fitted to enjoy occasional visits to Europe. Now, in 1886, undaunted by the burden of years, he undertook, with his daughter, Mrs. Sargent, a trip abroad. He was away from home only four months, and was in England nearly all the time. It was a sort of triumphal progress; all England seemed zealous to do him honor, and it was wonderful that he was able to survive such excitement, such feasting, the meeting of so many strangers, and the necessity of constant mental exertion. Yet of course he enjoyed it, though it fatigued him. On his return he wrote "Our Hundred Days in Europe," — not in itself a noteworthy book, perhaps, but which should be taken, as it was intended, as a courteous recognition of the hospitalities of a nation of admirers. During his stay Cambridge University made him a Doctor of Letters, Edinburgh University made him Doctor of Laws, and Oxford University made him Doctor of Civil Law; in 1880 Harvard University had made him Doctor of Laws.

When at last the end came, it came gently and mercifully, perhaps also in good season. Neither body nor mind had broken down, though neither could have been expected to last much longer; his eyes had long been threatened by cataracts, but he could still see to write and read a little; his memory was only just beginning to fail him slightly and occasionally. Fortunately, before these ills became serious, the angel of death — really an angel in his case — glided stealthily into the house and took him away. He was out of doors, taking his usual walks, a few days before the end came; he was up and about the house actually to the last day, and he died in his chair, — painlessly, as so humane a man well deserved should be his fate, — on October 7, 1894. Two days later he was buried from King's Chapel.

JUNE MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library since the May meeting, the President announced that Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith had been reappointed a Committee to publish the Proceedings.

It was announced that the Council had voted to omit the stated meetings for July, August, and September, and had authorized the President and Secretary to call a special meeting if occasion for one should arise.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said:—

More than ten years ago, soon after the death of her husband, Mrs. John Langdon Sibley, then of Cambridge, but now of Groton, authorized me to select a large number of books and pamphlets from his library to be given to this Society. For the most part they consisted of historical and periodical works, of which many were duplicates in the Library; and I was duly empowered by her to exchange such copies for other desirable volumes. I wish now to report these accessions, made by Mrs. Sibley during this period of ten years, which number, at the present time, 522 books, 1,591 pamphlets, 58 broadsides, and 84 maps.

In addition to these gifts are twenty manuscript volumes, with the exception of the first one, lettered on the back, "Sibley's Letters Received," and substantially bound in half-morocco. These letters cover for the most part the period from 1845 to 1882, and refer mainly to the graduates of Harvard College and to the Triennial Catalogues which he edited during those years. Also eleven large volumes, lettered on the back, "Sibley's Collectanea Biographica Harvardiana," in which are neatly pasted cuttings from newspapers, and other

scraps which relate to the graduates. The cuttings are arranged alphabetically under the names of the persons. These volumes are still kept up by Mrs. Sibley, and the latest one in the series ends with the year 1894 inclusive. The collection also comprises two volumes handsomely bound in half-morocco, and marked on the back "Sibley's Private Journal," which extends over the period from 1846 to 1882, both years inclusive; and two other volumes in half-morocco, marked on the back "Sibley's Manuscript Collections," which contain much material concerning Harvard graduates. Besides all these are various interleaved Triennial Catalogues with numerous notes; and some biographical sketches of graduates in continuation of his great work on that subject.

For this important addition to the Library I have had a special bookplate printed, as follows:—

GIVEN TO THE
Massachusetts Historical Society,
BY
Mrs. CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA LANGDON (COOK) SIBLEY,
OF GROTON,
In Memory of her Husband,
JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY,
LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD COLLEGE, AND AUTHOR OF "HARVARD GRADUATES,"
ALSO FOR FORTY YEARS A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY,
AND ITS MUNIFICENT BENEFACTOR,
JUNE 11, 1896.

Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL communicated the memoir of the late James Russell Lowell which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON presented a copy of "Harper's Weekly" of May 16, which contains an engraving of a portrait of Washington by Charles W. Peale, lately returned to this country from Spain, and an article by Paul L. Ford on the subject of Peale's portraits of Washington. He briefly men-

tioned the fact that as curator of the Society's Cabinet in 1874 at the time of arrival of the copy of an original portrait of Washington belonging to the Earl of Albemarle, at Quiddensham Park, England, he had identified the picture as the work of Charles W. Peale, and had made a communication on the subject to the Society, though of much less importance than the recent article of Mr. Ford.

Mr. CLEMENT H. HILL said that at the loan exhibition of the Royal Academy in London, last winter, a very carefully painted full-length portrait of Washington, by Stuart, was exhibited; the finest portrait of Washington he had ever seen. It was painted for the first Marquis of Lansdowne (Lord Shelburne), and now belongs to Lord Rosebery.

Mr. CHARLES E. NORTON called attention to the fact that the second of the two manuscripts once in the possession of President Dunster, which had been brought to the notice of the Society by Mr. Hassam at its meeting in October last, and printed in the Proceedings of the Society for that month, — namely, an abstract of a sermon preached at Exton, March 31, 1614, at the funeral of John, Lord Harington, Baron of Exton, by Richard Stocke, pastor of Allhallows, London, was to be found, with some considerable variations of the text, in Harington's "*Nugæ Antiquæ*,"¹ edited by Thomas Park, London, 1804, vol. ii. p. 307. It appears there under the title of "Sketch of the Character of John, Lord Harington, Baron of Exton"; and, in a note, Mr. Park says: "This Sketch is evidently compiled from 'The Churches [*sic*] Lamentation for the Loss of the Godly,' a sermon delivered at the funeral of John, Lord Harington, by Richard Stock . . . and printed in 1614."

The Dunster manuscript seems to be a modified form of the "Sketch," and not an independent abstract of the original sermon.

The death of Lord Harington was widely lamented. He was but twenty-three years old, but he had already shown

¹ The full title of this book, well known to the students of the literature of the period of Elizabeth and James I., is "*Nugæ Antiquæ: Being a miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers, in Prose and Verse, written during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, Elizabeth and King James: by Sir John Harington, Knt., and by others who lived in those times. Selected from authentic remains by the late Henry Harington, M. A., and newly arranged, with illustrative notes by Thomas Park, F. S. A.*" In two volumes, octavo, London, 1804.

such a character as gave promise of a great career. His ample fortune, his high connections, secured for him a position of influence, and his virtues made him a rare example among the young noblemen who frequented the corrupt and dissolute Court. "He did not," says Fuller, "count himself privileged from being good by being great; his timely piety rising early did not soon after go to bed, but continued watchful during his life." Much was hoped of him.

But his chief interest to posterity is the fact that he was the younger brother of the famous Lucy, Countess of Bedford, to whom he bequeathed two-thirds of his estate. She was the chief patron of the men of letters of the time, and her house at Twickenham was their resort. Ben Jonson, Daniel, Donne, are among those who celebrated her in their verse. Donne, who shared largely in her bounty, addressed several of his poems to her, commemorated her nearest friends in elegies, and at the death of her brother wrote a long poem entitled "Obsequies of the Lord Harington, Brother to the Countess of Bedford," at the close of which he declared:—

"That in thy grave I do inter my Muse,
Which, by my grief, great as thy worth, being cast
Behindhand, yet hath spoke, and spoke her last."

Donne was faithful to this implied pledge. From this time till his death in 1631 he wrote comparatively little verse, and almost all of that little was of a strictly religious character.

The Countess of Bedford's fame is most securely based on Ben Jonson's noble epigram, beginning

"This morning timely rapt with holy fire,"

and her fame sheds lustre upon the memory of her brother. A certain quaint charm attaches itself to this old manuscript, which dates from the time of Dunster's youth, and which, by slender and remote association, connects the memory of the Countess, and of the poets who celebrated her, with the bare and scantily furnished study of the first President of Harvard College.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR said that a recent letter to him from Professor Edward Arber, of London, the editor of sundry publications relating to early New England history, was rather startling, inasmuch as he questioned whether any comer by the first ship to Plymouth in 1620 had called the vessel the

"Mayflower." It is certain that Bradford in his History calls her only the "bigger ship," "our ship of nine-score tons," etc.; and in "Mourt's Relation," mainly the work of Bradford and Winslow, she is always referred to as "the ship." It is possible that some letter or other chance writing emanating from such comers, and printed since here and there, may give the name; but it is not probable. The earliest mention of the name in print is in Morton's "Memorial"; and here, condensing from Bradford, that writer, the governor's nephew, when his uncle had referred to the "bigger ship," in distinction to the "Speedwell," interpolates, "viz. the Mayflower." This was in 1669; and, strange as it may seem, it is probably the first time the ship is named in print, and nearly fifty years after the year of the landing. It appears now that the earliest written mention was in 1623 by Bradford himself, in the Plymouth records, where he enters the division made of town lots in that year to those who came in the "Mayfloure." This entry was first put in print by Ebenezer Hazard in his "State Papers" in 1792, nearly one hundred and seventy years later, and is included in the first volume of Plymouth Deeds, edited for the State by the late N. B. Shurtleff. This record probably escaped Professor Arber's notice, and he did not consider the entry in Morton as contemporary, as it was not. The delay in passing the name of this fateful vessel into established historic publications is certainly remarkable.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called attention to a manuscript note-book, in the Library of the Society, kept by Reverend John Barnard, of Marblehead, and said:—

There is in the Historical Library a note-book, kept by the Reverend John Barnard, of Marblehead, which contains a memorandum of all the sermons preached by him through a long life, giving the texts of his various discourses and the places and dates of their delivery, as well as the *honorarium* received for the same. The book begins with August 10, 1701, and ends with January 21, 1770, though the latest entries are read with some difficulty, as they are written in a feeble hand, after he had become almost blind from the infirmities of age. In early life his handwriting very closely resembled that of Thomas Prince, the annalist.

Mr. Barnard was a son of John and Esther Barnard, and was born in Boston, on November 6, 1681. He received his preparatory education at the Boston Latin School, and graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1700. An autobiographical sketch of him is printed in the Society's Collections (third series, V. 177-243), from which some of the following facts are taken. Soon after his graduation he joined the North Church, then under the pastoral care of the two Mathers, father and son, and began to study for the gospel ministry. He preached his first sermon on August 10, 1701, at Mr. William Robie's house, before a society of young men that used to meet on Sunday evenings for religious worship.

According to the note-book, Mr. Barnard during his life delivered more than six thousand sermons, of which he gives the various texts by a reference to the chapter and verse; and throughout this long period he received for his services more than ten thousand pounds. In one instance during his early life he was given a Bible for such service, and in several other instances some theological work. At divers times he supplied the pulpit of many congregations in various parts of the Province, and for some years was a chaplain both in the provincial army and navy. On July 18, 1716, he was settled over the Church of Christ at Marblehead, where he remained until his death, on January 24, 1770, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. By his will he gave to Harvard College the sum of two hundred pounds in token of his thankfulness for the education he there received. When President Wadsworth died in the spring of 1717, Mr. Barnard was talked of as his successor to the presidency of that institution.

The Reverend Charles Chauncy, D.D., of Boston, in a letter to Dr. Ezra Stiles, then of Newport, Rhode Island, dated May 6, 1768, says:—

Mr. John Barnard, of Marblehead, has been a long and near friend and acquaintance of mine. He is now in his 85th [87th] year, and I hear is seized this winter with blindness. I esteem him to have been one of our greatest men. Had he turned his studies that way, he would perhaps have been as great a mathematician as any in this country, I had almost said in England itself. He is equalled by few in regard either of invention, liveliness of imagination, or strength and clearness in reasoning. (Collections, X. 157, 158.)

Mr. Butler, in his History of Groton, while treating of the ecclesiastical affairs of the town immediately following the

pastorate of the Reverend Dudley Bradstreet, who was dismissed in the summer of 1712, says: —

Before settling another minister, after the dismissal of Mr. Bradstreet, three persons at least were hired as candidates for settlement; two of whom, Mr. [John] Tufts and Mr. [John] Cotton, received invitations to settle. A Mr. Barnard preached for some time, and he and Mr. Tufts were rival candidates before the town, and Mr. Tufts had the major vote (pages 170, 171).

Mr. Tufts did not accept the invitation, but soon afterward was settled over the church at Newbury. According to entries in the note-book, it was Mr. John Barnard who was preaching as the other candidate at Groton, where he supplied the pulpit for many Sundays during this period. Usually for his services in that town he received a pound for each day's preaching, though sometimes the sum was a little less, and once he had a guinea.

From time to time Mr. Barnard notes the fact in the volume that a sermon was printed, and also the occasion of its delivery. Many times during his early life he held Sunday evening services at his father's house in Boston, all which are mentioned in the list.

The note-book, containing 133 pages, was given to the Historical Library, on February 4, 1814, by the Reverend Samuel Dana, a successor of Mr. Barnard in the ministry at Marblehead. At the same time there was given by Mr. Dana another manuscript volume (pp. 277) entitled "A new Version of the Psalms of David; with Hymns out of the Old, and New, Testament; fitted to the Tunes used in the Churches. By John Barnard. A.M. Pastor of a Church in Marblehead." It is substantially identical with the printed edition that appeared in the year 1752 under Mr. Barnard's supervision, and is written in a very clear and clean hand, almost page for page and line for line with the published copy. At the beginning, pasted in front of the fly-leaf, are three notes commendatory of the work, which were written by Samuel Mather, Mather Byles, and Samuel Cooper, respectively, and all dated November 20, 1751. Presumably this was the copy sent to them, in advance of its publication, for their critical notice, and in the Preface to the printed volume the services of the two former ministers are acknowledged.

In connection with this subject, I may as well call attention to another manuscript volume, containing 184 pages, by Mr. Barnard, which was given to the Library by Colonel Samuel Swett, on July 28, 1836. It consists mainly of private meditations and self-examinations, written down by the pious author, which have no historical interest at the present time. The book begins with entries on January 28, 1715-16, and ends with those on October 31, 1719. It is marked on the inside of the front cover, "Lib— 9:" as if there were other volumes belonging to the series.

An informal discussion then took place on the desirability of a more thorough and popular discussion of that part of the history of Massachusetts which covers the period from 1780 to 1830 and some connected topics. Remarks were made by Messrs. WILLIAM EVERETT, the PRESIDENT, MELLE CHAMBERLAIN, JUSTIN WINSOR, EDWARD CHANNING, A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, CHARLES C. SMITH, ABNER C. GOODSELL, JR., EDWARD L. PIERCE, and others.

It was announced that a new volume of Proceedings containing the record of eleven stated meetings of the Society, from March, 1895, to April, 1896, both inclusive, would be ready for delivery on or about the 20th of the month.



MEMOIR
OF
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, LL.D.
BY A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL's mother was Harriet Trail Spence, whose family came from the Orkneys; and it was from this source that Mr. Lowell drew his poetic tastes and his passionate love of nature. His father, Rev. Charles Lowell,¹ a man of unusual culture and refinement, possessed a pure and gentle spiritual nature, and a breadth of sympathy which endeared him in no common measure to his parishioners. For forty years he was pastor of the West Church in Boston; but his ministrations were not confined to the members of that parish, and comparatively early in his career his labors among the poor of the city undermined his health so much that the congregation advised him to live in the country a few miles from his church. He therefore bought an old colonial house in Cambridge, built by the last royal lieutenant-governor, afterwards owned by Elbridge Gerry, and known as Elmwood from the row of English elms that still stand before it. Here he lived until his death in 1861, and here, on February 22, 1819, James, the youngest of his six children, was born.

In his "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago" Mr. Lowell has painted the surroundings of his boyhood, when the place was very different from what it is to-day. Instead of being crowded in between a rapidly growing suburb on one side, and a huge city cemetery with its ghastly marble yards on the other, Elmwood lay in a beautiful open country. It looked

¹ There is a memoir of Rev. Charles Lowell, by William Jenks, D.D., in the first series of the Proceedings of this Society, vol. v. p. 427.

out on the broad marshes and the placid river to the right, and the old road dotted with a few handsome houses on the left. Harvard College itself, and the settlement about it formed only a small village; and again to the eastward of this there was a tract of unbuilt land before Cambridgeport and the bridge to Boston were reached. Even about Elmwood the people were mostly farmers of pure New England stock, from whom Lowell learnt in childhood the Yankee dialect he has preserved forever in his "Biglow Papers." To the west, toward Watertown and Belmont, the country retained its perfect freshness; and its scenes were to him an unfailing source of delight as long as he lived. His fondness for nature was one of his deepest sentiments, and especially his love of birds, which is expressed in "My Garden Acquaintance," and still more fully in his letters to his friends. He seems to have put into practice early the advice he afterwards gave to one of his young nephews, to cultivate the powers of observation, and learn to know every bird by its plumage, its flight, and its song. Indeed, Darwin once said of him that he had been born to be a naturalist.

His temperament in boyhood was happy and normal, and his life at this time contained nothing very unusual. His sister Mary, afterwards Mrs. S. R. Putnam, who had an extraordinary capacity both for acquiring and imparting knowledge, taught him to read at a very early age; and later he was sent to a school kept by Mr. William Wells hard by. At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard College, where he was one of the youngest members of his class. His classmates found him a genial, pleasant companion, and so far appreciated his facility for versifying as to choose him secretary of the Hasty Pudding Club, whose records are kept in verse. They also selected him to write an anniversary poem and the class poem at graduation; but they set him down as incorrigibly indolent, and some of them, at least, do not seem to have perceived in him any great talent, or thought him capable of rising from doggerel to real poetry. Indolent in a sense he certainly was; for although he had already developed a strong taste for good literature, and devoured eagerly both English and foreign poetry, he neglected those branches of the college curriculum in which he was not interested. When a sophomore he did, indeed, receive a *detur* for rank; but later

his delinquencies became so great that towards the end of his senior year he was suspended, or rather rusticated, according to the bucolic practice then in vogue, and was sent to complete his studies with the minister at Concord. The period of suspension covered Class Day, so that he was unable to deliver his poem at the proper time, and was obliged to read it a few days later at a class supper that took place away from Cambridge. His father was grieved at his disgrace, and appears to have been much more impressed by his son's indolence than by his poetic aspirations; for when Mr. George E. Ellis, who had graduated five years earlier, and was now travelling in Europe, met Rev. Charles Lowell at Rome, and thinking to give him pleasure, read to him the class poem, the old man sat silent for a time, and at last remarked sadly, "James promised me that he would give up writing poetry and attend to his books."

In spite of his father's displeasure, the class poem has a great interest for one who looks back over Mr. Lowell's career,—not so much on account of its literary merit, but because of the light it throws on the author's tone of mind. A stronger contrast with the young poet's deepest sentiments a few years later would be difficult to imagine. He attacks Emerson's religious views bitterly, and scourges the whole race of fanatics,—

"And first and greatest, those who roar and rave
O'er the exaggerated tortures of the slave."

At the end of his life Mr. Lowell remarked that by nature he was a conservative; but this was true only in part, and was a single element in a complex and subtle character. Without the slightest mental rigidity he was distinctly conservative in intellect; but his temperament was so fervent and enthusiastic that when his heart was touched with a sense of wrong, he was ready to wage war against the whole world, and thus he often passed for a pure idealist and ultra-radical. At the time of his graduation he had not yet been stirred by the feelings that were burning under the cold crust of New England life, and his sentiments did not differ from those of the ordinary Harvard student.

After leaving college the first problem to present itself was that of earning a living. His father and one of his brothers

were clergymen, and he naturally considered the question of following in their footsteps; but Lowell felt that "no man ought to be a minister who has not money enough to support himself besides his salary. For the minister of God should not be thinking of his own and children's bread, when dispensing the bread of life." He next turned to the law, and began to read Blackstone. It was only a beginning, however, for he soon decided that his heart would never be enough in the profession to make a success; and before long he went into a business office, only to find it so much worse that in three months he was back again in the Law School, studying with a little more interest and a good deal more determination. Here he stayed until he took his degree in 1840. He then went into a lawyer's office in Boston, but he never became engaged in active practice. From the moment of his graduation, and even before, his tastes, his ambition, and his dreams had been for literature. He said of himself, "I do not know how it is, but I sometimes actually *need* to write somewhat in verse"; and in another letter he remarks, "Above all things I should love to be able to sit down and do something literary for the rest of my natural life." He believed that he had the power within him, but he did not see how he could follow his inclinations; for he needed to support himself, and the profits even of the most successful literary work were very small in those days. The spirit, however, was destined to prove stronger than the reason. He was constantly writing, and in May, 1839, the "Knickerbocker Magazine" published the "Threnodia," the first of his poems afterwards reprinted. From this time his verse appeared frequently in periodicals, and early in 1841 he collected a number of his poems in a volume under the title of "A Year's Life." Although the best of these earliest productions cannot be compared in beauty and passion with those of his maturity, they gave him at once a decided reputation.

Lowell was now rapidly developing from a youth with fine literary tastes, but no very deep convictions, into the man who was to be a prophet and preacher to his generation. Shortly after leaving college the sentiments of the class poem began to melt away in a sympathy for the oppressed, and as early as November, 1838, he wrote: "A third party, or rather no party, are secretly rising up in this country, whose voice will soon

be heard. The Abolitionists are the only ones with whom I sympathize of the present extant parties." The awakening of a new tone of thought was vitalized by two powerful influences. It is strange that one of these should have come from the very man he had so lately decried; but in an essay written many years later, he has left us a record of the impression produced upon him by the first course of lectures delivered by Emerson:—

"We used to walk in from the country to the Masonic Temple (I think it was), through the crisp winter night, and listen to that thrilling voice of his, so charged with subtle meaning and subtle music, as shipwrecked men on a raft to the hail of a ship that came with un-hoped-for food and rescue. Cynics might say what they liked. Did our own imaginations transfigure dry remainder-biscuit into ambrosia? At any rate, he brought us *life*, which, on the whole, is no bad thing. Was it all transcendentalism? magic-lantern pictures on mist? As you will. Those, then, were just what we wanted. But it was not so. The delight and the benefit were that he put us in communication with a larger style of thought, sharpened our wits with a more pungent phrase, gave us ravishing glimpses of an ideal under the dry husk of our New England; made us conscious of the supreme and everlasting originality of whatever bit of soul might be in any of us; freed us, in short, from the stocks of prose in which we had sat so long that we had grown wellnigh contented in our cramps. . . .

"To some of us that long-past experience remains as the most marvellous and fruitful we have ever had. Emerson awakened us, saved us from the body of this death. It is the sound of the trumpet that the young soul longs for, careless what breath may fill it. Sidney heard it in the ballad of 'Chevy Chase,' and we in Emerson. Nor did it blow retreat, but called to us with assurance of victory. Did they say he was disconnected? So were the stars, that seemed larger to our eyes, still keen with that excitement, as we walked homeward with prouder stride over the creaking snow. And were *they* not knit together by a higher logic than our mere sense could master? Were we enthusiasts? I hope and believe we were, and am thankful to the man who made us worth something for once in our lives. If asked what was left? what we carried home? we should not have been careful for an answer. It would have been enough if we had said that something beautiful had passed that way. Or we might have asked in return what one brought away from a symphony of Beethoven? Enough that we had set that ferment of wholesome discontent at work in us. . . .

"To him more than to all other causes together did the young martyrs

of our civil war owe the sustaining strength of thoughtful heroism that is so touching in every record of their lives. Those who are grateful to Mr. Emerson, as many of us are, for what they feel to be most valuable in their culture, or perhaps I should say their impulse, are grateful not so much for any direct teachings of his as for that inspiring lift which only genius can give, and without which all doctrine is chaff."

Still more profound in its effect upon his life was his engagement in the autumn of 1840 to Maria White, whose refined and enthusiastic nature, poetic temperament and quick sympathy were adapted to bring out all that was best in him. Her own poems published in his earlier books, and privately printed by him after her death, show the delicacy and beauty of her mind and character, and make it easy to see how her companionship deepened and intensified his feelings.

The young lovers were too poor to be married for some years, for their parents had little to spare, and the law was hardly a source of income. Lowell's writing brought only a small revenue, while the "Pioneer," a magazine which he started in connection with Robert Carter late in 1842, yielded nothing but debts. Fortunately for the editors, it came to an end in three months, and left Lowell free to devote his pen to work which at least could not impoverish him. At the end of 1843 he published a second volume of poems, and about a year later a book entitled "Conversations on Some of the Old Poets," — a collection of critical essays, chiefly on the old English dramatists. The books brought him a little money, to which frequent contributions to periodicals added more; and although his income was still small, it was enough to make him feel justified in marrying as soon as he could see his way to pay the debts incurred for the "Pioneer." At last this point was reached, and the marriage took place at the end of December, 1844. On account of his wife's delicate health the following winter was spent in Philadelphia; but in June they returned to his father's home at Elmwood, where his happiness was made complete by the birth, in December, 1845, of his daughter Blanche.

Meanwhile Mr. Lowell's sympathy with the oppressed and his sentiments about slavery had been getting stronger. In February, 1846, he writes: —

"My calling is clear to me. I am never lifted up to any peak of vision — and moments of almost fearful inward illumination I have

sometimes — but that, when I look down in hope to see some valley of the Beautiful Mountains, I behold nothing but blackened ruins ; and the moans of the down-trodden the world over — but chiefly here in our own land — come up to my ear, instead of the happy songs of the husbandmen reaping and binding the sheaves of light ; yet these, too, I hear not seldom. Then I feel how great is the office of poet, could I but even dare to hope to fill it."

These feelings had been growing in his mind for some years, but it was during his stay at Philadelphia that his pen became for the first time actively employed in the cause of abolition. He had hardly reached the city when he was engaged to write a leader once a fortnight for the "Freeman," a journal published by the anti-slavery Quakers of Pennsylvania. He always disliked the idea of accepting pay for taking part in a moral crusade, but he was absolutely unable to support himself independently without it, and he was resolved not to receive help from his father, who had lost a great part of his property a few years before. His contributions to this journal were in prose, — a vehicle which did not give a chance for the exercise of his greatest force as a preacher. As he said of himself, —

"If I have any vocation, it is the making of verse. When I take my pen for that, the world opens itself ungrudgingly before me, everything seems clear and easy, as it seems sinking to the bottom would be as one leans over the edge of his boat in one of those dear coves at Fresh Pond. But, when I do prose, it is *invitâ Minerva*. I feel as if I were wasting time and keeping back my message. My true place is to serve the cause as a poet. Then my heart leaps on before me into the conflict."

In the early summer of 1846, however, a better opportunity for the use of his powers was opened by a proposal that he should write every week, in prose or in verse as he preferred, for the "Anti-Slavery Standard" of New York. With some diffidence about his own ability to add real strength to the paper, he accepted the offer, and during the next four years he published in its columns some of the best short poems he ever wrote.

These four years, from 1846 to 1850, were the most active and the most happy in his life. His happiness was indeed broken by the death of little Blanche in March, 1847 ; but a

new joy came to him in the birth of another daughter, Rose, towards the close of the same year. Both grief and joy, however, seem to have stimulated his poetic feeling, and poems such as "The First Snow-Fall" and "The Changeling" show the ecstasy to which they wrought his nature. During all this period he wrote incessantly, sometimes about public affairs, sometimes from a purely poetic impulse with no direct relation to the great struggle in which he was engaged, but almost always with a stern sense of his mission as a prophet and a seer. His character no less than his poetic feeling had deepened and strengthened, and poems like "The Present Crisis" attest the full maturity of his powers.

Hitherto he had made use of only one-half of his brain, for, although naturally full of humor, his published verse had all been written in a serious mood; but in June, 1846, he opened a new and perhaps even more productive mine of thought. Enraged at the sight of a recruiting sergeant trying to enlist volunteers for the Mexican war in the streets of Boston, he published in the "Courier" the first of the "Biglow Papers." He does not seem to have been conscious at the outset of the richness of the vein of ore he had discovered, for in a letter to a friend he refers to the production as "a squib of mine," and adds, "If I may judge from the number of persons who have asked me if I wrote it, I have struck the old hulk of the Public between wind and water." Nor did he follow up his first success at once. It was not until nearly a year and a half later that the third paper of the series appeared; but from that time they followed one another rapidly. From a literary point of view they were an entirely new creation, and had politically something the effect of explosive shells compared with the old-fashioned solid shot. The Yankee dialect in which they were couched gave them a sharpness and sting, and lent itself to a terseness of phrase, that would have been out of the question in more conventional language. It would have been impossible, for example, to express in classical English so complete a satire on the philosophic and religious defence of slavery as in the lines, —

" 'The Mass ough' to labor an' we lay on soffies,
Thet 's the reason I want to spread Freedom's aree;
It puts all the cunninest on us in office,
An' reelises our Maker's orig'nal idee,'
Sez John C. Calhoun, sez he."

The humor in his verse was contagious and irresistible, while the shafts burned in the wound as if they had been dipped in gall. Sometimes the satire is put into the mouth of Hosea Biglow, with his bitter hatred of the war; sometimes, and even more effectively, into that of the very man against whom the satire is directed; and when published in a volume, the moral was pointed, and the wit of the poem set off by the mock serious introduction or commentary of Parson Wilbur.

At this time Lowell's activity became more and more intense. During the eighteen months from the middle of 1847 to the end of 1849, he not only wrote the greater part of the first series of "Biglow Papers," and prepared the whole for publication, but he was continually sending contributions to the "Standard," and wrote "The Fable for Critics" and "The Vision of Sir Launfal." This last is said to have been written in forty-eight hours, during which he scarcely slept or ate; but in speaking of Lowell's marvellous rapidity of production at certain moments, it must be borne in mind that he had a habit of carrying his poems in his head, sometimes for years, and writing them down when he felt in the mood for it, — a feat that was rendered possible by an exceedingly retentive memory. He frequently refers to the need of brooding long over his eggs before they are ready to hatch, and such a habit helps one to understand how he could have written the "Sir Launfal" in the space of two days. This is undoubtedly the most generally popular of his longer poems; and although not pitched in so heroic a key, it is perhaps more complete and more spontaneous than any of his later works. The general arrangement of the poem, the relation of the preludes to the main theme, and the light they throw upon it, are perfect. The variation of the metre to avoid monotony — a point whose importance he always felt keenly — is managed without the slightest sign of artificiality; while the painting of nature, and the harmony between sound and sense, he never afterwards surpassed.

In reading his works, one is struck by two marked peculiarities which reflect his character. In the first place his anti-slavery writings differ from those of his contemporaries by the fact that he never tries to harrow the reader's feelings by dwelling on the anguish of the slave. One may search his

poems in vain for anything like Whittier's "Slave Ships," "Farewell of a Virginia Slave Mother," or "The Slaves of Martinique"; and even in the verses "On the Capture of the Fugitive Slaves near Washington," where something of the kind would naturally be expected, the "loathsome deeds" which he condemns are not described. He always appeals solely to the sentiment of heroism and manhood, and seems to abhor slavery less as an instrument of suffering than as a stain on human nature and Christianity. It is this mode of feeling that shines through his poems, and gives them a force that will long outlive the anti-slavery conflict.

Another quality of his writing is the peculiar use of humor. He was ever brimful of wit, and in the "Biglow Papers" it has no limits. It overflows into the titlepage and the glossary, and fills the whole book from cover to cover. Yet irrepressible as his humor was, occasionally breaking out in his earlier prose works into unseasonable puns, which a more mature taste expunged in later editions, he used it in poetry almost exclusively in professedly humorous work. In his serious poems there is scarcely a trace of it to be found, and one might read them through without suspecting that the author had any sense of humor, — a rare experience in writers with whom that sense is strong. On the other hand, his humor was at its best only when it overlay an earnest purpose. Even in "The Fable for Critics," the object is quite as much criticism as fun; yet, with all its sparkling wit, the "Fable" is certainly not equal to the "Biglow Papers"; while productions like "The Unhappy Lot of Mr. Knott," which are purely comic, cannot be compared with either of them. The fact is that in spite of his vast culture, and his intimate familiarity with the literature of the world, he remained in heart a son of the Puritans. His full powers were called out only by a strong moral impulse, and hence his keen humor found its highest expression in satire.

Of all the varied periods of sunshine and shadow in Mr. Lowell's life, this is the most pleasant to contemplate. It was the most productive and the most joyous. His fame had already become national, and the future appeared to have endless possibilities in store; for he was still in the morning of life, when the sun was climbing higher and higher, and the flood of light seemed limitless. He was, no doubt, to some

extent a martyr for his political opinions, but no martyr was ever so high-spirited, so jovial, and so charming. As he said of himself, he was curiously compounded of two utterly distinct characters. One half was clear mystic and enthusiast, the other humorist; and the humor, which is the best balance-wheel vouchsafed to man, prevented his remaining narrow or fanatical. In reading "Aladdin," one cannot help feeling that this was the time when he was a beggarly boy, with the miraculous lamp and fire enough in his brain. He was indeed poor, and in a letter to C. F. Briggs he says that one of his objects in writing an article in the "North American Review" was to get money enough to enable him to visit his friends in New York. Unfortunately the money had to be spent for other purposes, and the visit was postponed; for he was a poor economist, and had the true poet's faculty of letting gold slip through his fingers. A passage in one of his letters shows his financial condition:—

"The truth is, that I have just been able to keep my head above water; but there is a hole in my life-preserver, and what wind I can raise from your quarter generally comes just in season to make up for leakage and save me from total submersion. Since the day after I received your remittance for December I have literally not had a copper, except a small sum which I borrowed. It was all spent before I got it. So is all the last one, too. As long as I have money I don't think anything about it, except to fancy my present stock inexhaustible and capable of buying up the world; but when I have it not, I entertain lawless and uncertain thoughts. I question those fallacious distinctions of *meum* and *tuum* which lie at the foundation of all right of property in the present social state. . . .

"Don't be getting up a subscription for my relief, however, for I shall be easy enough in good time. I can get along without money as well as any man I ever heard of. Indeed, were it not for the recurrence of the 1st of January, and a foolish curiosity which infests tradesmen at that season in regard to one's solvency, I should never have any trouble. . . . I cannot shake off the imputation of being rich. This is the ruin of me. I am positively befleeced with runaway slaves who wish to buy their wives. They cut and come again. I have begun to fancy that polygamy is not unusual among them. What can I do? We, in principle, deny the right of compensation. But if a man comes and asks us to help him buy a wife or child, what are we to do? I cannot stand such an appeal. So, when I have money I give something; when I have none I subscribe, to be paid when I have. And I never

can tell whether they are speaking truth or not. There is a fellow in Cambridge who blacks boots, etc., for students, who in vacation takes up the profession of runaway (at least he has once), and raises money to buy imaginary (or at least superfluous, for he has one in Cambridge) wives, and children yet unborn and unbegotten even. On the whole, these things heighten one's zeal against slavery.

"I will macerate myself. I will keep *lent*, so that I may never more be under the necessity of borrowing. I have a whoreson appearance of health and good spirits, which infects men with a false opinion of my prosperity. They will have me rich. I say I have no money, and they smile with respectful uncredulity. Unfortunately it is not my temper to reap any satisfaction from this imputed righteousness. Perhaps I should bear riches with resignation. I think few of us would hold an umbrella (at any rate right side up) against a golden shower."

After four years of hard work Mr. Lowell felt weary. The spring of Helicon was exhausted for a time and ran dry. He had planned a series of poems to be called "The Nooning,"—a sort of New England imitation of the "Canterbury Tales,"—and intended to rest after they were finished, but he had not the energy to do more than make a beginning. Moreover his sympathy with the anti-slavery leaders had been cooling, for he did not agree with their vindictiveness against the slaveholders, or with their political aims. The feeling that impelled him to say,

"Ef I'd my way I had ruther
We should go to work an' part,
They take one way, we take t' other,
Guess it would n't break my heart,"

in the first of the "Biglow Papers," was a sentiment so transient with him that three years afterwards he writes that he never agreed with the dissolution of the Union movement. He felt also that reform could not take up the whole of him, as he expressed it, and he longed to be working in his own vein instead of deferring to the opinion of men for whose literary views he had no respect. His relations with the Executive Committee of the "Standard" naturally became strained, and in the spring of 1850, upon a mistaken impression that his services were no longer wanted, he tendered his resignation as a regular contributor. The offer was not accepted, but from that time he wrote for the paper less frequently. For these reasons he became unsettled, and at last, with a hope of improving his wife's delicate health, he determined to go abroad.

On July 1, 1851, he embarked on a sailing-vessel for Genoa, and passed most of the following year in Italy. A great part of the time was spent in Rome, where he had the pleasure of being with his college classmate and lifelong friend William W. Story; but although the delightful "Leaves from my Journal in Italy and Elsewhere" give no hint of gloom, Mr. Lowell was no longer so light-hearted as before. In the spring of 1850 his daughter Rose had died, and two years later she was followed by Walter, his only son, leaving of his four children Mabel alone surviving. Mrs. Lowell, whose health had always been delicate, never recovered from the blow. After their return home late in 1852, her strength slowly faded away, and on October 27, 1853, she died.

With his wife's death the first chapter in Lowell's life came to an end. The poetic inspiration which had been during the first ten years of his manhood a never-failing spring, became intermittent and fitful. Needing work for the sake of distraction, he employed his pen chiefly in prose, and published the "Moosehead Journal," "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago," and part of the "Italian Journal."

Elmwood recalled sad memories, and the summer of 1854 was spent at Beverly. On his return in the autumn he found himself engaged in a work that was destined to shift the whole current of his life. This was a course of lectures on the English Poets, which were delivered in Boston in the ensuing winter, and were so successful that before they were over he was appointed to fill Longfellow's place as Smith Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard College. The outward change from the young abolitionist poet, at war with social and political conventionalities, to the sedate professor at the oldest American university, was hardly greater than the inner change in the man himself. His scintillant wit remained; but the exuberant spirits and optimistic radicalism were gradually replaced by a more sober and conservative tone of mind: the ardor of the poet was subdued in the gravity of the scholar.

Before undertaking the active duties of his chair Lowell stipulated that he should be allowed time for study in Europe. Accordingly he sailed in the summer, spent a few weeks in Paris, ran over to London where he saw his literary friends, and in the autumn settled down in Dresden to study German. Here he lodged in the family of Dr. Reichenbach, a distin-

guished naturalist, and went through the usual course of wrestling with genders, "and sentences in which one sets sail like an admiral with sealed orders, not knowing where the devil he is going till he is in mid-ocean!" The winter was passed in dull monotonous study; and a gloomy winter it was, for Lowell was homesick and unwell. His health and spirits, however, were raised in the spring by a trip to Italy, whence he came back to pursue his work with a better heart, until he felt free to travel homeward.

Early in August, 1856, he was again in Cambridge, and with the opening of the college year he took up the burden of the professorship, which he bore for twenty years,—a burden because he thought of it as such. He is constantly repeating that teaching is a treadmill that benumbed him, exhausted his energy, and dried all the poetry out of him. When we consider, however, that the second series of "Biglow Papers," the "Commemoration Ode," the three "Memorial Poems," "The Cathedral," and several of his best shorter poems, besides a large part of his most remarkable prose works, were written during his professorship, it may be doubted whether he did not overestimate the numbing effect of his labors in the classroom. He never had the faculty, which a few great poets have possessed, of treating his mind like a machine, and setting it in motion whenever he pleased. His genius was, indeed, peculiarly fettered by his mood, which explains the fact that, in spite of his rapidity and his constant habit of hard work, he had the reputation of being indolent and dilatory. His procrastination was sometimes provoking, and it is said that when he had been selected to deliver the "Commemoration Ode," his friends were worried beyond measure because he did not begin to write it, until suddenly the inspiration came and the poem was complete. There is no doubt a marked break in his poetry during the earlier years of his professorship; but it must be remembered that the break had begun several years before. The fact is that he required a stimulus from outside, and from the end of the Mexican War to the Rebellion nothing occurred to raise his emotions to a white heat. The Civil War called forth another burst of poetry; but after it was over the Muse again became fitful, and roused him only at rare intervals.

While the professorship probably quenched his poetic force less than he supposed, it opened a new field of usefulness.

The number of students who attended his lectures was not large, for his literary courses were above the ordinary undergraduate; but the value of Lowell's influence upon the young men with whom he came in contact cannot be estimated. He held the opinion, unfortunately far too rare, that the work of a teacher in a university ought not to be confined to the classroom; that he ought to give himself, as well as his learning; and he made a practice of devoting a great deal of time to his pupils, sometimes taking long walks with them, sometimes receiving them at his own house in the evening. For a busy man the sacrifice must have been considerable, but the students who enjoyed the privilege gained a benefit entirely beyond the formal courses they pursued.

The chair at Harvard was indirectly the source of many of his most remarkable essays. Being a professor, he felt obliged as he said, to become learned; and to his vast store of information he added a more systematic study of literature. He read ferociously, at times ten hours a day for weeks, so that in later life he remarked that he feared he was one of the last of the great readers. The results of this study are seen in his critical essays, which are considered by many people, especially in England, as his most lasting monument. The first of those written while at Harvard he collected in 1870 under the title "Among My Books." Several more were published in "My Study Windows" in 1871, while a second volume of "Among My Books" appeared a few years later. A few of his subsequent critical essays were printed with other addresses in 1886, and the rest were published by Professor Norton after his death.

Lowell had returned from Europe scarcely a year when he was married to Miss Frances Dunlap. Although quite different in temperament from his first wife, she was a great help to him, soothing and sustaining him during his work. It was, in fact, at this time that his literary life began again in a new form. Hitherto he had occupied the position of a contributor, but in the autumn of 1857 the "Atlantic Monthly" was started, and he was appointed editor-in-chief, — a post for which he was peculiarly fitted by his sympathy with other authors, and his love of bringing out their best capacities. The object of the undertaking was a literary magazine of the highest grade, with the distinct but less prominent purpose of helping

the anti-slavery cause; and it would have been hard to devise a scheme more completely in accord with Lowell's own inclinations. During the four years of his management he wrote comparatively little for the magazine himself, but under his guidance it realized fully the aim of its founders. Its regular contributors comprised most of the leading writers in New England, and among them Dr. Holmes, whose "Autocrat" assured its success from the very start.

The poetic talent that had lain half dormant for a dozen years was awakened by the outburst of the Civil War, and it is strange that just at this time he went back to the house at Elmwood. After his return from Germany in 1856 he had lived with his brother-in-law, Dr. Estes Howe, in Kirkland Street; but early in 1861 he was sitting again at his old desk, and smoking his old pipe, in the garret where he had written so fervently in the days of the Mexican War. The old associations seemed to call back something of the old spirit, for the year was not over before he was busy with the second series of "Biglow Papers." He had been urged to pick up the threads a year earlier, and longed to do so; but the inspiration was slow in coming, and after the first poem had been finished he wrote: "It was clean against my critical judgment, for I don't believe in resuscitations — we hear no good of the *posthumous* Lazarus — but I may get into the vein and do some good." The second poem was "Mason and Slidell," with its postscript "Jonathan to John," and there was no doubt he had got well into the vein. One stanza of Jonathan's appeal contains a prophecy that seems to have been fulfilled of late.

"Shall it be love, or hate, John?
It's you thet's to decide;
Ain't *your* bonds held by Fate, John,
Like all the world's beside?
Ole Uncle S. sez he, 'I guess
Wise men forgive,' sez he,
'But not forgit; an' some time yit
Thet truth may strike J. B.
Ez wal ez you an' me!'"

The second series of "Biglow Papers" is hardly equal to the first in humor or keenness of satire, but contains more true poetry. Nothing like the exquisite description of spring in



"Suthin in the Pastoral Line," for example, can be found in the earlier set. The fact is that Lowell's imagination flowed less freely than formerly. He said himself: "I suppose this series wants something of the first-jump (as Montaigne calls it) gayety and good spirits of the earlier ones, but I think there is better stuff in it for all that. If I am less of an improvisator, I hope I am getting to be more of an artist, though I miss the crowd of eager fancies that used to haunt me night and day. Invention is the faculty which ages first, and the material to work in is scanted, while the skill to shape it grows." During the Mexican War the exuberance of his fancy enabled him to fill the "Biglow Papers" with satire alone, and reserve his serious thoughts for other poems. But the later work included solemn as well as playful ideas, and this accounts for the small amount of distinctly serious poetry he wrote at that time. The "Washers of the Shroud," published before the "Biglow Papers" began, and half-a-dozen other short pieces cover the whole of his separate war poems from Fort Sumter to Appomattox. Fortunately, he was appointed to deliver the Commemoration Ode in July, 1865; for it may be doubted whether this, the grandest of his poems, would ever have been produced without the spur of necessity. He put off writing from week to week, and he did not take up his pen until only a couple of days remained. His own account of the writing of the Ode is as follows:—

"Two days before the Commemoration I had told my friend Child that it was impossible—that I was dull as a door-mat. But the next day something gave me a jog and the whole thing came out of me with a rush. I sat up all night writing it out clear, and took it on the morning of the day to Child. 'I have something, but don't yet know what it is, or whether it will do. Look at it and tell me.' He went a little way apart with it under an elm-tree in the College yard. He read a passage here and there, brought it back to me, and said: 'Do? I should think so! Don't you be scared.' And I was n't, but virtue enough had gone out of me to make me weak for a fortnight after."

And in another letter he says:—

"The poem was written with a vehement speed which I thought I had lost in the skirts of my professor's gown. Till within two days of the celebration I was hopelessly dumb, and then it all came with a rush, literally making me lean (*mi fece magro*), and so nervous that I was

weeks in getting over it. I was longer in getting the new (eleventh) strophe to my mind than in writing the rest of the poem. In *that* I hardly changed a word, and it was so undeliberate that I did not find out till after it was printed that some of the verses lacked corresponding rhymes. All the 'War Poems' were improvisations, as it were. My blood was up, and you would hardly believe me if I were to tell how few hours intervened between conception and completion, even in so long a one as 'Mason and Slidell.' So I have a kind of faith that the 'Ode' is right because it was *there*, I hardly knew how. I doubt you are right in wishing it more historical. But then I could not have written it. I had put the ethical and political view so often in prose that I was weary of it. The motives of the war? I had impatiently argued them again and again — but for an ode they must be in the blood and not the memory. One of my great defects (I have always been conscious of it) is an impatience of mind which makes me contemptuously indifferent about arguing matters that have once become convictions.

"It bothers me sometimes in writing verses. The germ of a poem (the *idée-mère*) is always delightful to me, but I have no pleasure in working it up. I carry them in my head sometimes for years before they insist on being written."

Lowell had been saddened by the death in battle of his three grown-up nephews, and the poem dwells on the heroic devotion and sacrifice of the young men who fought in the war. His delivery, usually cold, was impassioned, and the people in the broad tent spread near the college grounds were profoundly moved. Yet with a strange diffidence he felt for a time that he had made a failure.

The "Ode" was subsequently criticised on account of its irregular metre, and it is interesting to hear his own opinion on the subject. In a letter to James B. Thayer in 1877, he says: —

"But what I wished to say a word to you about (since you are so generous in your judgment) is the measures I have chosen in these as well as the 'Commemoration Ode.' I am induced to this by reading in an article on Cowley copied into the 'Living Age' from the 'Cornhill' (and a very good article too, in the main) the following passage: 'As lately as our own day [*my* ear would require '*So* lately as,' by the way] Mr. Lowell's 'Commemoration Ode' is a specimen of the formless poem of unequal lines and broken stanzas supposed to be in the manner of Pindar, but truly the descendant of our royalist poet's '*majestick numbers*.'" Now, whatever my other shortcomings (and

they are plenty, as none knows better than I), want of reflection is not one of them. The poems were all intended for public recitation. That was the first thing to be considered. I suppose my ear (from long and painful practice on Φ B K poems) has more technical experience in this than almost any. The least tedious measure is the rhymed heroic, but this, too, palls unless relieved by passages of wit, or even mere fun. A long series of uniform stanzas (I am always speaking of public recitation) with regularly recurring rhymes produces somnolence among the men and a desperate resort to their fans on the part of the women. No method has yet been invented by which the train of thought or feeling can be shunted off from the epical to the lyrical track. My ears have been jolted often enough over the sleepers on such occasions to know that. I know *something* (of course an American can't know much) about Pindar. But *his* odes had the advantage of being chanted. Now, my problem was to contrive a measure which should not be tedious by uniformity, which should vary with varying moods, in which the transitions (including those of the voice) should be managed without jar. I at first thought of mixed rhymed and blank verses of unequal measures, like those in the choruses of 'Samson Agonistes,' which are in the main masterly. Of course, Milton *deliberately* departed from that stricter form of the Greek Chorus to which it was bound quite as much (I suspect) by the law of its musical accompaniment as by any sense of symmetry. I wrote some stanzas of the 'Commemoration Ode' on this theory at first, leaving some verses without a rhyme to match. But my ear was better pleased when the rhyme, coming at a longer interval, as a far-off echo rather than instant reverberation, produced the same effect almost, and yet was grateful by unexpectedly recalling an association and faint reminiscence of consonance. I think I have succeeded pretty well, and if you try reading aloud I believe you would agree with me. The sentiment of the 'Concord Ode' demanded a larger proportion of lyrical movements, of course, than the others. Harmony, without sacrifice of melody, was what I had had mainly in view."

During the period of war and reconstruction Lowell wrote a number of political essays, but these are not as remarkable as his poetry or his criticism. Although very influential in forming public opinion, and although containing many wise sayings and many striking aphorisms on government, they are in the main a forcible exposition of the opinions held by intelligent Republicans. Beginning with a distrust of Lincoln's tentative policy, they finally express unbounded admiration for the statesmanship that could wait until the times were ripe, and give the lead when the people were ready to follow.

The essays show how thoroughly the writer had become estranged from the Abolitionists. He regards the conflict at the outset, not as a crusade against slavery, but as a struggle to restore order and maintain the unity of the nation,—as a question of national existence in which the peculiar institution of the South is not in issue; and although before the war was over he saw that no lasting peace was possible unless slavery was forever destroyed, he held that opinion in common with men who had never harbored a thought of abolition before the secession of South Carolina. In short, he no longer writes as the prophet of 1848, but as a citizen and a statesman.

In 1863, at the height of the Civil War, Lowell undertook, in conjunction with Mr. Norton, the editorship of the "North American Review," in which most of his political essays appeared. This had been the leading review in the United States, and under the new editors it regained its high position; which was maintained until, several years after their resignation, it was vulgarized for the sake of increasing its circulation. Lowell held the post until 1872, and during that time he published a number of works. Two of these, "My Study Windows" and one volume of "Among My Books," have already been mentioned. Another, which appeared in 1868 with the title "Under the Willows," was the first collection of his poetry made since 1848, and the greater number of pieces contained in it had been written more than fifteen years before. In the following summer he wrote "The Cathedral," a majestic poem, and the only one he ever wrote in blank verse. Although this is entirely different from his earlier poetry, and although he worked over it as he had never worked over anything else, its production shows how all his poetry was the result of sudden and momentary inspiration. He composed it rapidly, then took weeks in copying and revising it, making many changes, and finally put it away, as he said, to cool. When he took it out again, he put back every one of the original readings, making only a single change to avoid a rhyme that had crept in unawares.

The custom of the College allows the professors to spend every seventh year in foreign travel; and as Lowell had been teaching for more than fourteen years without a break, he made up the arrears by going abroad with his wife for two years in July, 1872. The first winter he passed in Paris,

running over to Oxford in June to receive the degree of D. C. L., and travelling for several weeks in the Low Countries on his return to the Continent. The second winter was spent in Italy; and while here he was shocked by the news of Agassiz's death, and wrote the elegy to his memory. Lowell had never had much sympathy with science, which he thought had robbed the world of poetic feeling; but the personality of Agassiz had charmed him, as it did every one else. The two men had formerly been in the habit of meeting at the monthly dinners of the Saturday Club, with Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, Motley, Norton, and the rest; and the death of Agassiz recalled vividly that brilliant company of the years gone by.

In the summer of 1874 Lowell came home and took up again the work of teaching for three more years. The period of his life that was now coming to an end had not been altogether happy. His letters show the deep affection for his friends that never failed, but there is not the same joy as in early life. To some extent he had been disappointed. He felt that he had not fulfilled the promise of his youth, for the stream of poetry had run more slowly as he grew older; and even "The Nooning," which he had planned at thirty and never abandoned, he had been unable to complete. Of this, the largest of his designs, he wrote in 1868:—

"And the 'Nooning.' Sure enough, where is it? The 'June Idyl' (written in '51 or '52) is a part of what I had written as the induction to it. The description of spring in one of the 'Biglow Papers' is another fragment of the same, tagged with rhyme for the nonce. So is a passage in 'Mason and Slidell,' beginning 'Oh, strange new world.' The 'Voyage to Vinland,' the 'Pictures from Appledore,' and 'Fitz-Adam's Story' were written for the 'Nooning,' as originally planned. So, you see, I had made some progress. Perhaps it will come by and by—not in the shape I meant at first, for something broke my life in two, and I cannot piece it together again. Besides, the Muse asks *all* of a man, and for many years I have been unable to give myself up as I would."

The sluggishness which he attributed to teaching grieved him, and he was thoroughly happy only when he was in the mood for writing poetry. At such times it took complete possession of him, and worked him up to a delicious state of excitement in which he wrote with his old rapidity; but this

happened only at rare intervals. The last of his long poems—the odes read at Concord, April 19, 1875, under the Washington Elm at Cambridge, July 3, 1875, and on the 4th of July, 1876—were produced under a sort of compulsion, and show perhaps some traces of the fact.

During his stay in Europe Lowell had been distressed at the condition of politics in this country, and annoyed at the expressions of contempt for America it had called forth on the other side of the Atlantic. On his return he was horrified by the lack of indignation at corruption in public life; for the intense party feeling engendered by the war was still too strong to permit independent judgment in politics. He expressed his disgust in a couple of poems in the "Nation," called "The World's Fair" and "Tempora Mutantur." The verses were not of a high order of poetry, and at first one regrets that Hosea Biglow did not come out once more to do battle with the spoils system, as he had with the slave power long ago; but the subject was not one that made it possible. Among the archaic sculptures buried on the Acropolis after the sack of Athens by Xerxes, and recently unearthed, is a fragment of a pediment representing Herakles and the Hydra. The hero is on all fours alongside the monster in a cave,—a fitting type of the way political corruption must be fought at the present day. The war with slavery, like that of Perseus with the dragon, could be waged on wings with a flashing sword, but the modern reformer must go down on his hands and knees and struggle with reptiles in the dark.

The verses in the "Nation" brought on the author a volley of abuse from those who thought any criticism of the party in power unpatriotic. They accused him of being a snob, who had seen so much of dukes and lords that he was no longer a good American. Considering the quiet life he had led abroad, these slanders were a trifle comical; but it is one of the strange caprices of fortune that they should have been the means of forcing the secluded scholar into public life, and opening the third and final chapter in his career. In April, 1876, some young Republicans in Cambridge who were dissatisfied with the tendencies of the party, and were anxious to prevent the nomination of Blaine for President, formed a committee with Lowell at its head. With the co-operation of young men in other towns they succeeded in defeating the

supporters of Blaine, and elected Lowell as one of the delegates from the district to the National Convention at Cincinnati which nominated Hayes. To his surprise Lowell was repeatedly urged to stand for Congress, but although profoundly touched by the proof of his neighbors' esteem, he was modest enough to see that he was not well fitted for the place. He therefore declined the proposal, consenting only to act as one of the presidential electors of Massachusetts. The election was so close that even if all the doubtful States were counted for Hayes the change of a single Republican vote in the college would have given the election to Tilden; and it was whispered that Lowell was going to vote for him. The rumor was, of course, without foundation, for, as he said himself, "In my own judgment, I have no choice, and am bound in honor to vote for Hayes, as the people who chose me expected me to do. They did not choose me because they had confidence in my judgment, but because they thought they knew what that judgment would be. If I had told them I should vote for Tilden, they would never have nominated me. It is a plain question of trust." It is strange that any one should have thought him capable of making a mistake on so simple a problem of ethics.

The new administration had not been in office many months before Lowell was offered a foreign mission. Berlin and Vienna were mentioned; but he refused them both, and, indeed, he had no desire for diplomatic service. He said, however, that he would have gone to Spain, thinking that the place had already been filled. Contrary to his expectation, an exchange was made, and he received the appointment, which, after all, he did not entirely regret, as he hoped it would give an opportunity to pursue his studies, and he did not intend to stay very long. The college year had just come to an end, and he sailed without delay. By the end of July he was in London, and a month later he was going through the formal ceremony of a presentation at the Spanish Court. In the following January came the still more elaborate festival attending the first of the King's marriages; but although the pomp was gorgeous, and many of the scenes interesting, to the native of Cambridge the ceremonies became somewhat tedious. Nor was he much interested in the work of his office, for the routine, which he performed with the conscientious-

ness of a Puritan, was new and strange and vexatious to him. Moreover, he had several bad attacks of the gout, a malady from which he had suffered from an early period in life; and he made few acquaintances save of an official kind. In short, his first winter at Madrid was very far from being a happy one.

In April he took a leave of absence for a couple of months, travelling through the south of France to Italy, Athens, and as far as Constantinople. The trip was, of course, full of delights, and he came back to the legation in better spirits. His health was improved. His work became less irksome as he got used to it, and he liked the Spaniards, with whom he found many points of sympathy. A great deal of his time was devoted to studying the language; for while there were few men in Spain whose knowledge of the literature of the country compared with his, yet, to quote from one of his poems at a Φ B K dinner, Spanish was one of the

"Four strange languages, which, luckless elf,
I speak like a native (of Cambridge) myself."

He was still pursuing this somewhat monotonous life when he was startled in January, 1880, by a despatch announcing that he had been nominated Minister to the Court of St. James. It is needless to say that he felt the honor keenly, but he doubted whether he could afford it, and was appalled at the thought of the hordes of American tourists who would be thrust upon him to the dissatisfaction of both parties. His wife also was just recovering from a dangerous illness, and was still very weak; but she wanted him to accept, and tried at once to plan how it could be arranged. So he cabled that he would go if allowed two months' delay, as he could not move his wife or leave her sooner.

The cordiality of his reception in England astonished Lowell, who never ceased to be puzzled at his popularity there. The fact is that he was in his natural element. In Spain his talents had been wellnigh thrown away, but in Great Britain his wit and his culture were thoroughly appreciated. The "Biglow Papers" had long won him ardent admirers, his critical essays were highly valued, and he was recognized as a master of English style. One might have supposed that the "Biglow Papers," and especially

"Jonathan to John" would hardly have been a passport to English society unless the author recanted his opinions, which he was very far from doing; but the fact is that in London Lowell's sturdy Americanism was rather an element of attraction than otherwise. The English public were especially delighted by his after-dinner speeches, for which the dinners of the Φ B K at Harvard in the years gone by had been the best of all training fields. He had been in the habit then of trusting to the inspiration of the moment, and the readiness it gave him stood in good stead now. His addresses on literary subjects, such as those delivered on unveiling the busts of Fielding and Coleridge, and those on Wordsworth and Don Quixote, appealed even more strongly to cultivated men, and he was constantly invited to speak on these occasions. The address that attracted the widest attention was the one upon "Democracy," made on assuming the presidency of the Birmingham and Midland Institute on October 6, 1884. It was a justification of that form of government as seen in the experience of the United States, and gave only one side of the shield. Referring to it four years later in a speech on "The Independent in Politics," he said: "In that place I felt it incumbent on me to dwell on the good points and favorable aspects of democracy as I had seen them practically illustrated in my native land. I chose rather that my discourse should suffer through inadequacy than run the risk of seeming to forget what Burke calls 'that salutary prejudice called our country,' and that obligation which forbids one to discuss family affairs before strangers." To understand Lowell's views fully at this time one must read both addresses, for although free from pessimism he was no longer the unqualified admirer of democracy that he had been in former days.

Lowell enjoyed his stay in England highly. It threw him into contact with many distinguished men; it brought out his social talents, and made him, in the best sense, more thoroughly a man of the world; while the rush of life in London acted as a constant stimulus. He had other friends, too, that most people never think of, for he would stroll out in the morning from his house in Lowndes Square and listen to the thrushes in the Park with the same delight that came in hearing the birds at Elmwood. Moreover he felt that he was useful. No great international question arose, it is true, during

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his mission, but the subject of the Irish prisoners who claimed to be citizens of the United States required a great deal of tact, without which serious trouble could easily have arisen. Lowell managed these cases skilfully, insisting on a strict regard for the rights of Americans, while refusing to misconstrue the principles of international law for the special benefit of the prisoners. This was the passionate era of dynamite when the Home Rulers would not hear reason, and he was bitterly attacked, although he was, perhaps, quite as much amused as irritated by an attempt to teach him patriotism, on the part of men who hardly knew the meaning of allegiance to any government.

But his usefulness as a minister far transcended the import of any specific questions that arose. It was his personal presence there, winning the respect and admiration of the English for all that is best in America, that was most valuable. Among the many surprises in Mr. Lowell's life none is perhaps greater than that, after writing so bitterly about Mason and Slidell, he should have been instrumental in soothing the irritation between England and America that arose out of the Civil War; but such is the case, and it is not too much to say that he did more than any one else towards removing the prejudice which the upper classes in England had long felt for the United States.

When Cleveland became President in 1885, Lowell was superseded and came home. His wife, who had long been in feeble health, had died early in the year, and left him desolate. He felt too sad to go back to Elmwood, — the house was too full of ghosts, he said, — so he went to live with his daughter in Southborough. Here he passed the three following winters, the fourth being spent with his sister, Mrs. Putnam, in Boston. In the summers he went to England, renewing his many warm friendships, and never omitting to go to Whitby, whose landscape with its birds and flowers and ruined abbey were an unfailing source of pleasure.

Returning from the English mission, the most distinguished man of letters in America, Lowell was selected to deliver the oration on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College, Holmes being the poet of the day. No choice could have been more appropriate, for both men had devoted a large part of their lives to the service

Lowell

of the College, and they were the two greatest poets she had ever produced. The celebration, which took place on November 8, 1886, was memorable, and Sanders Theatre was packed with graduates to its utmost capacity. Every cranny was full, one adventurous fellow sitting perched on the top of a half-open door, while the President of the United States and many representatives of other universities in Europe and America looked on from the platform. Unlike the poem, which expressed the hopefulness characteristic of Holmes, the oration was somewhat despondent in tone, reflecting the regret of a man of letters at the crowding of other subjects of thought into the domain formerly occupied in the University by the study of literature.

During the years that followed, Lowell wrote a few poems, but he was chiefly employed with prose essays. Most of these, and among them a series of lectures on the old English Dramatists, were not published until after his death. One of the few that he printed himself was the address delivered before the New York Reform Club in 1888 on "The Independent in Politics." That he should have spoken on such a topic, and should have expressed opinions distasteful to party men ought to have astonished no one. Whether as an Abolitionist or a Republican he had always formed his own opinions, and had never been afraid to make them public; yet even at the end of his life he could not do so without provoking loud criticism, — a conclusive proof of how much his influence was feared by politicians. On the use of appointments to office as party spoils he felt strongly, and his feelings had been reinforced by his observations abroad, for in 1883 he wrote: "Spain shows us to what a civil service precisely like our own will bring a country that ought to be powerful and prosperous. It wasn't the Inquisition, nor the expulsion of Jews or Moriscos, but simply the Boss System, that has landed Spain where she is." This certainly is not the theory commonly accepted, but one who held it could hardly contemplate the organized use of patronage with equanimity.

In the autumn of 1889 Lowell went back to Elmwood. The house was haunted by sad memories, but at least he was once more among his books. The library, which filled the two rooms on the ground floor to the left of the front door, had been constantly growing, and during his stay in Europe he had

bought rare works with the intention of leaving them to Harvard College. Here he would sit when sad or unwell and read Calderon, the "Nightingale in the Study," in whom he always found a solace. Except for occasional attacks of the gout, his life had been singularly free from sickness, but he had been at home only a few months when he was taken ill, and after the struggle of a strong man to keep up as long as possible, he was forced to go to bed. In a few days his condition became so serious that the physicians feared he would not live; but he rallied, and although too weak to go to England, as he had planned, he appeared to be comparatively well. When taken sick, he had been preparing a new edition of his works, the only full collection that had ever been made, and he had the satisfaction of publishing it soon after his recovery. This was the last literary work he was destined to do, and it rounded off fitly his career as a man of letters.

The summer and winter passed away, with one bright spot of better health, and always with the same warm welcome for his friends, but on the whole with a sense of languor and waning strength, and repeated attacks of pain that alarmed the physicians. The disease was recognized as cancer; and as a vital organ was involved, it was evident that the end could not be far off. About the middle of June his condition grew much worse; the pain, which he bore manfully, became very great; and after several weeks of acute suffering, he died on August 12, 1891.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting — the first since the summer vacation — was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved. The Cabinet-Keeper reported that Alice Van Alen Mesick had given to the Society a portrait of Peter Isaac Vosburg, of Columbia County, New York, who was a Colonel on Washington's staff in 1776, and was afterward a General in the War of 1812.

It was voted to transfer the names of Samuel Rawson Gardiner, LL.D., and the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L., from the list of Corresponding Members to the list of Honorary Members.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

When, twenty-one years ago last April, my name first appeared on the roll of our Resident Membership, that of Lucius R. Paige stood eighth upon it. Already a man of seventy-three, he had then been a member of the Society for thirty-one years. The death of Peleg W. Chandler on the 28th of May, 1889, placed Mr. Paige's name third on the list, those before him being Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis, both younger than he in years, though his seniors here; and when, on the 30th of May, 1894, Dr. Paige rounded out his full half-century of connection with it, the Society for a brief period bore at the head of its roll the names of three persons whose united membership exceeded a century and a half. This, so far as I can ascertain, never happened before; and, certainly, it will not soon occur again. Mr. Winthrop died on the 16th of November, 1894, and Dr. Ellis on the 20th of the month following; and now it is with feelings of unusual regret I announce the death of Dr. Paige, the last of our three half-century members, the single survivor of all those elected in the first half of the century, — the Nestor of the Society. Dr.

Paige died on the 2d of September, in his ninety-fifth year, and in the house in Cambridge in which he had dwelt for more than half his long life. Elected a Resident Member of the Society on the 30th of May, 1844, Dr. Paige had outlived all his generation here, for a gap of nearly sixteen years intervened between him and the next in order of seniority. There is no one of his own day among us to speak of him, — no one even of his own religious denomination; and it must devolve on me, therefore, in announcing his death to pay that tribute to him and to his memory which on these occasions usually, and far more appropriately, comes from some familiar friend, or at least from a contemporary or professional associate, — one who can speak from personal knowledge.

It is not necessary now to give the leading dates and events in Dr. Paige's life; such will more properly be sought for in that memoir which will be incorporated in some future volume of our Proceedings. It is rather to the individual, — to the man as we of a later generation knew him and saw him, that reference should to-day be made. Until extreme age and the infirmities necessarily incident thereto prevented his coming, Dr. Paige was, as nearly all here know, a most regular attendant at our meetings, — so regular indeed, and so invariably of late years the occupant of a certain chair directly in face of the President, that five years ago, at the meeting corresponding to that of to-day, kindly attention was called to his presence in the seat almost prescriptively his, by our associate Mr. Winthrop, who spoke of Dr. Paige's regular attendance for nearly half a century as constituting not the least of his many claims to our regard. But, none the less, Dr. Paige did have other and far higher claims to our regard than attendance at our meetings, or than the contributions he from time to time made to the interest of those meetings. He had, indeed, what on the whole I hold to be the highest possible claim to that regard.

In a notice of him published after his death in the leading organ of the religious denomination of which Dr. Paige was a lifelong and prominent member, I find these words: "We often say of a man 'he has a good character,' and 'he has character.' In these familiar phrases the word 'character' has two dissimilar meanings. If one is truthful, reliable, exemplary, we say that 'he has a good character.' But if we simply say, 'he has character,' we mean to denote a quality of

manhood lying back of what he says or does, and which is too subtle and too great for verbal expression. Dr. Paige had a good character; but far more and profounder, he had character. He had not simply opinions, but convictions that went to the root of his being and which to him had a worth above all terms of estimate."¹ This is not only discriminating and true, but it is true of Dr. Paige. He so impressed those with whom he came in contact; he so instinctively impressed us, as he sat facing this chair at our meetings. He was the embodiment of that element of "character" in the individual member of the community which, permeating the mass, made the Puritan Commonwealth from the beginning what it was, and sustains Massachusetts to-day. On any question of the time involving a moral issue, — a question of standard right or evasive wrong, — one always knew in advance where to look for Dr. Paige. He might not be prominent, he certainly would not be noisily in evidence; but he would be there. This it was which gave him his force. Otherwise he did not possess the qualities which command general recognition or give wide influence to the possessor. He was not eloquent, nor imaginative, nor philosophic; there was about him no trace of that subtle quality which we describe by the word "magnetism"; but, on the other hand, he was a man of great powers of application and of indefatigable industry, careful, accurate, exhaustive, absorbed in the subject matter upon which he was engaged, and, above all, both physically and mentally, equal to long, sustained effort.

We know Dr. Paige here in his capacity as an historical investigator and writer, but this was only with him the later sphere of mental activity; his chief field of useful labor was denominational, his great work was theological in character. On this subject I do not profess to speak as one having personal knowledge, and so capable of passing a judgment entitled to acceptance; but I am assured that in the Universalist community Dr. Paige was regarded as a profound student, a learned critic, and an accepted authority. In 1833 he published his "Selections from Eminent Commentators"; and later, in 1870, as the result of thirty years of patient, sustained study, he completed in six volumes his "Commentary on the New Testament," a work of which it has recently been said

¹ The Christian Leader, September 10, 1896.

that to this day it "is the best extant depository of the kind of information that throws light upon the New Testament page. Later scholarship may have made discoveries that modify some of the expositions, and of course has added explanations not possible forty years ago. But Dr. Paige's Commentary has never been displaced, is in no danger of becoming obsolete, is a storehouse of Biblical facts and wisdom." As an active and prominent member of the Universalist community, Dr. Paige was one of the founders and promoters of Tufts College, and from that institution he in 1861 received his degree of Doctor of Divinity, as in 1850 he had received recognition in the form of another honorary degree from Harvard. He thus lived and died a shining light in that liberal denomination in which he early enrolled himself.

Here, however, we did know him in his other character, that of the patient, faithful, indefatigable historical investigator, — the author of the "History of Cambridge" and the "History of Hardwick." It was from these sources, as he delved in the mine of local and genealogical lore, that he drew the material which he from time to time contributed to our Proceedings, such as his account of the Harlakendens in 1845, his reminiscences of the Vassall Family in 1858, and his remarks on the Early Account Books of Harvard College, and on the Stewards of Harvard College, in 1860 and in 1861. Beyond these his contributions did not go; and it is a somewhat singular fact that in his whole long connection with the Society, though in 1859 he paid a brief tribute to Henry Bond, an Associate Member, and in 1860 a similar tribute to Sylvester Judd, a Resident Member, our volumes of Proceedings contain no formal memoir from his pen. He served on the old Standing Committee of the Society in 1854 and again in 1855, and from time to time acted as a member of various special committees, but otherwise he was not specially active in the government of the Society, or identified with it.

As I just said, it was as a local or town historian that we here best knew Dr. Paige; and as a local and town historian he was a model. Thorough, patient, untiring, loving study and investigation for study and investigation's sake, not craving a large audience nor ambitious of applause, absorbed in his subject and absorbing his subject in himself, his life and

his pleasure were in his work. He had his reward, too; for his work will stand. As a town and local historian he will not be forgotten. And, indeed, this is one distinct advantage the faithful local historian has over his more ambitious brother, the so-called general historian, or historian on the large scale. His readers may not be so many, or his fame so great; probably he will occupy the attention of the critics far less, and his labors will hardly excite a notice outside of narrow territorial limits. Gilbert White, it is true, did write "The Natural History of Selbourne," just as did Isaac Walton "The Complete Angler"; but I am unable to recall any local history, unless perchance Dietrich Knickerbocker's somewhat famous account of early New York, which has secured and held the attention of what is called the reading public. Take Hardwick or Cambridge, for instance, the two subjects to which our dead associate devoted so many years of his long life. I greatly doubt whether, if Lord Macaulay or Thomas Carlyle or Froude had made those towns their subjects, they would have found, or if they had found would have held, any considerable circle of readers. The miscellaneous and local writings of Walter Scott are to-day wholly neglected. But, on the other hand, the faithful local historian has his compensation. He may not have a large audience or many interested readers; but the audience he does have he holds, and by it is not forgotten. General history it is said requires to be rewritten at least once in each generation; and certainly we have not yet got the last word as regards even Greece and Rome. It is, I fear, safe also to say that as the years glide by the general reader will have less and less recourse to even the most considered of the popular and philosophical historians of our day, until their collected works also will one by one be relegated to the upper shelves in our libraries, — those "cemetaries of departed reputations," as Hallam has called them, where "the dust accumulating on the untouched volumes speaks as forcibly as the grass that waves over the ruins of Babylon." This fate at least the faithful town historian is spared; nor, probably, is it too much to say that Dr. Paige's "Cambridge" and "Hardwick" will be more read and consulted a century hence than they are to-day, or even than they were when yet fresh from the press. His "Selections from Eminent Commentators" will share the fate common to all

theological works, nor will the six volumes in which it is included save his exegesis of the New Testament from a similar fate; but so long as the territorial localities we know as Cambridge and Hardwick are inhabited by human beings, so long in all probability will the number of those increase who wish to know something of the past of the community to which they belong, and of the earlier generations from which they are derived; and all such will have recourse to the volumes of our dead associate. No one will hereafter have occasion to re-write those narratives. Thus, after closing a long, industrious, useful life, — a life harmful to no one, — Dr. Paige could go to his rest full of the assurance that his leaf at least was not destined to wither, or his work wholly to perish.

Through the death of Dr. Paige, our Librarian and Vice-President, Dr. Green, becomes our senior member, — thus adding to the other titles I have mentioned that of Dean of the Society. Measured in years merely, it is a long stride which is taken. Dr. Ellis, the last Dean who was a graduate of Harvard, belonged to the Class of 1833, and became a member of the Society in 1841; Dr. Green, who thus so closely follows him, was of the Class of 1851, and became a member of the Society in 1860. Mr. Winthrop's name stood at the head of our list for over twenty years; and I am sure his possible successors would gladly know that Dr. Green's name is destined to grace the same position for an equal, or, indeed, even longer term.

At our May meeting seven years ago the name of Ernst Curtius was inscribed in our roll of Honorary Members; and on the 12th of July a cable message advised us of the death of Dr. Curtius on the previous day, in his eighty-second year. Born at Lübeck on the 2d of September, 1814, — the period of the great German uprising against Napoleon, — Dr. Curtius was one of that group of profound German students and investigators of whom Niebuhr and Mommsen are the accepted prototypes. They have re-written the history of the times with which they dealt. Studying in his youth Hellenic development on the soil of Greece, between 1844 and 1870 Dr. Curtius gave to the world that succession of erudite works with which his name is identified. I am not aware that he ever visited America, and others here can possibly speak of him and of his labors

more appropriately than I. I confine myself therefore to the simple announcement of the great scholar's death.

Turning to other topics of a more material character, I am glad to inform the Society that, though the city of Boston has not as yet purchased this estate, as recently recommended by the present Mayor, it has renewed its former lease of the two lower stories of our building for a term of five years from the 1st of July last, taking at the same time an option to purchase the whole property at any time on payment of the gross sum of \$200,000. The subject was fully discussed at the Annual Meeting of the Society in April last.¹ This action on the part of the city again places the current finances of the Society on a thoroughly sound basis. The income once more exceeds the outgo. On the 1st of July, when the city resumed its occupation, the premises had been vacant for the period of twenty-one months, involving for the Society a loss in rental of \$15,750, a sum which it could ill afford to spare, inasmuch as the having it or not having it must materially affect our power to build elsewhere. As the case now stands, the city is in occupation of the two lower stories of the building, for which it pays \$9,000 a year rent; and it has the right at any time to purchase the whole estate at a price which would put it in possession of the whole five stories at an annual cost to it of less than \$8,000; under these circumstances the inducement to purchase would seem to be obvious, for it is difficult to conceive of anybody or anything, except a municipal organization, leasing half a building at \$9,000 a year when it can at any time have the whole of it for less than \$8,000 a year; but the affairs of municipal bodies are seldom managed on business principles in general acceptance.

It hardly needs to be added that, under these circumstances, no further steps have been taken towards perfecting plans and beginning work on the proposed new building. Under the present agreement with the city, the Society, it should be understood, may be called upon any day to pack up its furniture, books, and collections, and vacate these premises; — it occupies them in fact merely as a sort of tenant-at-will, liable to have its occupation terminated by a notice to quit in reasonable time. The period since the first of July has, however, not

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. x. pp. 576-578.

been one during which men of a fair degree of prudence and forethought have cared to mature plans, or consider arrangements involving contracts and an outlay which extend far into the future. I refer of course to the issues involved in the national canvass now going on.

It is needless for me to say that the discussion of current political topics has never been suggested, much less encouraged, in the meetings of this Society. We cannot of course go back to the War of 1812, but a few — seven only in all — of those whose names still stand first on our roll were chosen into the Society before the end of the War of the Rebellion; and I think I am right in saying that even then, — during that period of mortal agony, when the souls of those here were overflowing with grief for those who were dead, or with anxiety on account of those who were wounded or in danger, — even during that period of utmost tension, on one or two notable occasions only was any reference to current events made in this room; and the correct tradition of what then took place, I may further add, is supposed to have passed away with our late President. He loved in characteristic way to dwell on those incidents; and one of them which was marked by a sharp and most healthy explosion on the part of the late James Savage has been preserved, on the authority of Dr. Ellis, by our late associate Octavius B. Frothingham in his book entitled "Boston Unitarianism" (p. 178). The unwritten law which excludes political allusion even, much more its discussion, from these meetings is, moreover, in every way proper and desirable; and I certainly have no intention of deviating from it to-day, or inviting any general debate on vexed current topics, the unending noise of which elsewhere is certainly wearisome enough. Nevertheless, there are connected with presidential elections in general, and with the present one perhaps in particular, certain abstract considerations not without an historical bearing. These have an interest; and, possibly, it is not otherwise than appropriate, and in conformity with the everlasting fitness of things, that, while the tempest is raging without, we should meet here and placidly philosophize over certain abstract aspects of the situation.

A short time since our Honorary Associate Carl Schurz — whose name by the way was placed on our roll on the same day



as that of Dr. Curtius — made a very remarkable campaign speech at Chicago, in the course of which he mentioned the fact that he had a distinct recollection of ten presidential elections. Presumably Mr. Schurz in this statement did not include the present election, so the succession of elections he referred to began with that of 1856, — the Buchanan-Fremont campaign so called. Though I am not by several years so old a man as Mr. Schurz, my native birth causes me to go further back than he in this somewhat dismal record, and I can say that I have a distinct historical recollection of twelve presidential elections, beginning with that of 1848, which resulted in the choice of Zachary Taylor. Doubtless there are in this room those who go yet further back to the “Henry Clay and Frelinghuysen” campaign of 1844, and even to the “Tippecanoe and Tyler too,” of 1840; but my recollection of those is too child-like and uncertain to be classed as such. I do, however, as I have said, remember distinctly and vividly each of the twelve elections beginning with that of 1848, and I will add that it is curious, and not otherwise than instructive, now to look back over them through the perspective of years. It is surprising when thus reviewed how very suggestive they are of the truth of Disraeli’s famous aphorism that, in politics, it is the unexpected which is apt to occur; which is indeed only another way of expressing that extreme doubt most men, as they get older, grow to entertain of their own judgments. The fact is, as that somewhat caustic Oxford Don once put it, “we are, gentlemen, none of us infallible, not even the youngest.”

Some years ago, I believe in the course of a presidential canvass, I had occasion to deliver a political address. The campaign was at its height; and, as usual, the orators were assuring their audiences that there had never probably been any election more momentous in its consequences than that about to take place, — that, indeed, the life of the nation might almost be considered as trembling in the balance. I began the speech I then delivered by remarking that I then remembered a certain number of presidential elections, — the number has since considerably increased, — and, looking back over them, I realized that of them all one only — the second election of Lincoln in 1864 — was of any real moment; and, indeed, all the others might equally well have gone differently from the way they did go, without materially affecting

the ultimate course of events; and I went on to add that the election then pending was, in my judgment, no exception to the general rule. In other words, so far as remote results were concerned, it made very little difference which party in the state just then prevailed. The remark I also remember failed to elicit any, even the faintest, indication of approval. It fell, on the contrary, upon my audience much as a douche of cold water falls on a collection of excited dogs. Yet, all the same, it was perfectly true; and I think I am prepared, speaking historically, to say the same thing even at this much later day, — in other words, looking back now over the dozen elections of which I have personal recollection, my judgment would be that one of them only — that of 1864 — was of permanent importance as materially affecting what may be called the great trend of national events, — the deep flowing current of development in a people's destiny.

Take for instance the first — that election of 1848 — immediately following the iniquitous Mexican war, the incorporation of Texas into the Union, and the acquisition of California. The opposing candidates were General Zachary Taylor and General Lewis Cass. General Taylor was the candidate of the Whig party, and when he was nominated, — they called him "Old Rough and Ready," — Mr. Webster indignantly characterized the nomination as one "not fit to be made." My father, I well remember, refused to abide by it; and, leaving the Whig party then and there, became himself the vice-presidential candidate of another party, with ex-President Martin Van Buren's name at the head of the ticket. It was the first considerable political cleavage on the slavery-issue. A great issue growing immediately out of the Mexican war, but involving the fundamental principle of national unity and life, was slowly but surely shaping itself; and it is plain enough now, looking at it in the light of subsequent events, that the election of Taylor or the election of Cass — four years of Whig supremacy or four years of Democratic supremacy — could at that stage in no serious degree affect the irresistible and inevitable course of development.

Contrary to Mr. Webster's judgment of the nominee, General Taylor proved in the result an exceptionally good and solid stick of presidential timber, to use a newspaper simile, and his too early death afforded good cause for national lamentation;



but during that divided administration four years of Union-saving compromise passed away, the great underlying issue moving steadily forward in its allotted course, until in 1852 Franklin Pierce and Winfield Scott, both Generals again, were the opposing candidates. The campaign of 1852 is chiefly memorable as that in which one of the candidates first took a direct part in discussion as a speaker in his own behalf, — a custom which in the present campaign has grown to such very abnormal dimensions. Prior to that time it was accepted almost as a political axiom that a presidential nominee was lost if he opened his mouth or put pen to paper; and Henry Clay in the canvass of 1844 was cited as a warning example. The canvass of 1852 furnished another example. Poor General Scott on an evil day for himself took to speechmaking, — and neither his speeches nor the effect they produced on his prospects has passed out of the memory of those who recall that time. General Scott was doubtless a very excellent military commander; but there is at least equally little room for doubt that he was a very poor political campaigner. Had he been elected President instead of Pierce, the so-called compromise measures as respects slavery passed during the previous administration probably would not then have been disturbed, — the inevitable might for a brief period have been deferred; but few thoughtful political observers would, I fancy, now maintain that the great course of events then pressing to a solution would have been materially influenced.

Then came the election of 1856, — the first campaign fairly and fiercely fought out on the slavery issue. The Whig party had disappeared, and the Democratic party had thrown in its lot with the Slave power; the compromise measures of 1850 had been broken up; Charles Sumner had been assaulted in the Senate chamber by Preston S. Brooks. It was in that election I threw my first vote; and no one, I think, who voted in that election is likely ever to forget it. The new party of freedom as it was called — the Republican party — drew a ticket in the presidential lottery, — it might prove a prize, it might prove a blank, — and nominated Colonel John C. Fremont; and then followed that fierce and ludicrous “Pathfinder” and “We’ll give ’em Jessie” campaign which it is impossible for one who took an eager part in it to look back on now without a certain feeling bordering on what is known

among the young as sheepishness. What faith we did have in our cause and in our leader; and how little we understood what was for our own good! How Whittier sang,

“Rise up, Fremont, and go before,
The hour must have its man;
Put on the hunting-shirt once more,
And lead in Freedom's van”!

Very clearly now can I recall that night, forty years ago, of the decisive October elections. Filled with faith, and confident of an assured victory, I had gone in from the country to get the returns as they came in from Pennsylvania. Not for a moment did I doubt of victory. But when at last they came, those returns told another tale. The Democrats had carried Pennsylvania, — the Keystone State! The day was lost! All seemed lost! I was, I remember, absolutely stunned. I can see now the hard, white road bathed in the silent light of the brilliant full moon, over which I drove on my midnight return home. I didn't know it at the time, but I now realize how that cold, round moon was simply repeating to me over and over again Emerson's famous words, “Why so hot, little man?” Politically, I am sure I never felt so badly in my life, before or since, as I felt during that silent drive; yet in reality what an escape for us it was! As I have often since had occasion to observe, a premature victory may be a much greater disaster than a temporary defeat. In 1856 the Republican party was not yet ready to assume control of the government; the country was not educated up to the crisis it was doomed to face; the great issue was not ripe for solution. While the defeat of Buchanan and the election of Fremont in 1856 might have precipitated the conflict of 1861, it could not have averted it.

So four years more passed away, and, in the ripeness of time, the fateful election of 1860 took place. It ushered in the great rebellion. It was an awful election. As I now look back on it through the long vista of thirty-six years, a lurid light seems to hang over it, presaging what the immediate and dreadful future had in store. It was the “Wide-Awake,” “Rail-Splitter” campaign, — the campaign of torchlight processions, of shouting, marching, and countermarching, — the tramp of an army in motion seems now to echo and reverberate from it, while the heavens resounded with detonations, and glared and sparkled

with fireworks ; we did not realize it, but it was in fact the gathering of the hosts, — the stage rehearsal of the coming tragedy. And yet we now see that the election of 1860, had it gone the other way, would in all probability have in no wise changed the great trend of events. It would have been merely 1856 over again. The issue was ripening, and was inevitable, — it was merely a question of a little earlier or a little later ; had it not been in 1860, it would have been in 1864.

But it was in 1860 that the issue was made ; and, being then made, the election of 1864 became of exceptional importance ; for, as Mr. Lincoln characteristically pointed out, the swapping of horses while in the act of fording a river, and such a river, is an act of more than questionable wisdom. Few persons will, I think, now deny that a course of political events which had led up to a transfer of the government in 1864 to the hands of those who declared the war in its then critical stage a failure, could scarcely have failed permanently to influence the great current of subsequent history.

It is not necessary for my present purpose to follow in detail the course of the later elections. My own feeling is that the decision of none of them one way or the other would have influenced more than temporarily the grand total of results accomplished through the war. The process of readjustment, as it seems to me, may have been accelerated by what actually took place, or might have been retarded if that had occurred which in point of fact did not occur ; but it would have been merely a variation in the swing of the pendulum, not a displacement of it. On this point, however, others may well entertain a different opinion, and the period is not yet sufficiently remote to be discussed historically.

Coming now to the somewhat delicate ground of the present election, and looking at it in a broad way, it may not be improper even here to ask ourselves in a calm, philosophic spirit, whether, in view of the issues presented, the usual ordinary rule of slight moment applies, or whether this constitutes a second instance, in the course of nearly sixty years, of an election of marked and exceptional importance. I am now inclined to think that it does ; and in a wholly unpartisan spirit I would like, if no objection is made, to put on record my reasons for this conclusion ; for hereafter it may not be without interest to the historical investigator to find in our

Proceedings some statement of how the issue now presented was at the time looked upon, not by the politician, but by those who tried to approach it from the historical point of view.

The great issue, then, as now made up, is sharply defined. It is distinctly and definitely proposed to maintain on the one side, and on the other side to change, the accepted measure of monetary value. Further, if the change is decided upon, it is not to be gradual; but, as a measure of value, one precious metal (silver) is, through free and unrestricted coinage, to be substituted for the other (gold). Assuming perfect honesty of intention and equal public spirit in both parties to the struggle, the question is simply as to the importance, the momentous nature of the issue involved, as seriously, or otherwise, affecting the great course of events.

Whichever way it is looked at, it seems to me scarcely to admit of question, a more momentous issue could hardly be presented to a people. In his extremely interesting and timely book, recently published, called "Democracy and Liberty," our Honorary Associate Mr. Lecky referred to the discovery of America as producing, among other wide and far-reaching effects, one the most momentous of all. To quote his words, "The produce of the American mines created, in the most extreme form ever known in Europe, the change which beyond all others affects most deeply and universally the material well-being of men: it revolutionized the value of the precious metals, and, in consequence, the price of all articles, the effects of all contracts, the burden of all debts" (vol. ii. p. 235). This great change then arose from natural causes, and came about gradually; changes of a similar nature, though scarcely on the same scale, have repeatedly, in the history of the world, been brought about, usually through governmental action, as in the case of our own Revolutionary continental currency, and again our legal tender system in the recent rebellion; but these changes have, as a rule, come about more or less slowly; and no principle is better established than that in all cases of such changes time is an essential element in any successful readjustment. But in the present case the proposed substitution of one measure of value for another, and wholly different, measure is to be made finally and at once, as the result of a popular election and

almost on a given day. Looked at simply from our, the historical, point of view, no larger economical and social experiment, nor one more bewildering in its possibilities, was probably ever proposed by any responsible political organization.

Should the popular verdict on the 3d of November be in favor of the experiment, there are two views entertained as to its probable result; and whichever of the two views proves to be correct, the result will be equally interesting. On the one side the contention is that the action of the United States alone in admitting silver to free coinage at a ratio of sixteen to one with gold would at once, and throughout the world, practically double the value of silver, raising its price in gold from the current quotation to-day of 60 cents an ounce to \$1.29; and this the candidate of one of the two great contending parties publicly and confidently declares will take place the day after his election to the Presidency is assured. Assuming this to be the case, and that prices in the United States, except in the case of silver, are not affected, it must apparently follow that in all countries where silver is the measure of value, — in other words, throughout Asia, Mexico, and large portions of South America, the habitations of more than half of the human race, — in all these countries, through the action of the United States alone, the accepted measure of value would be suddenly doubled, with all those consequences which, in the language of Mr. Lecky, “most deeply and universally [affect] the material well being of men.” A more startling historical catastrophe could not easily be conceived.

On the other hand, the contention of those who propose to hold by the existing measure of value is that an established policy of free silver coinage on the part of the United States would result only in a comparatively small rise in the present value of silver as compared with gold; while it would substitute silver for gold as the measure of value in this country, with all the consequences for those inhabiting the country which, once more quoting the language of Mr. Lecky, “most deeply and universally [affect] the material well being of men.”

In the one case, therefore, it would seem that, as the result of the canvass now being conducted, an experiment such as the world has not seen before is to be tried at the expense of all

present silver standard countries ; while in the other case it is to be tried at the expense of this country alone. In either event, should the election result in a certain way, the experiment is to be tried. This is not the place, nor is it my intention, to express an opinion on the merits of the issue presented, or to venture any predictions as to the probable outcome of the experiment, if the popular verdict in November decides that it shall be made. I merely state the case, and the apparent alternative presented. There seems to be no escape from the dilemma ; and if the experiment involving that dilemma is decided upon, it can hardly fail to present, either at the expense of this country or at the expense of those countries now employing silver as their measure of value, an historical study of surpassing interest. Whichever party to it may prove to be right, it would seem, therefore, safe to say that the present canvass, which took shape shortly after we last met, and the outcome of which all here are observing with such keen interest, cannot be classed among the ordinary presidential contests and those of little moment. Should the popular verdict be in favor of the proposed monetary experiment, it can hardly fail to result in consequences which future members of this Society will study with profound interest. For myself, therefore, I am inclined to consider the present election as involving, from the historical point of view, issues not less momentous than those involved in the election of 1864. I should class it as one of exceptional importance, wholly irrespective of the side which any person might advocate. It can be hardly otherwise than curious hereafter to note how far this view of the matter may have been influenced by a too close proximity to the event.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, having been called on, spoke as follows :—

Although I never had the privilege of a personal acquaintance with Professor Ernst Curtius, as one who has given some attention to the study of Greek History and Archæology, I feel that it is eminently fitting for our Society to give some formal expression to its sense of the great loss it has sustained by his death. His was the most eminent name upon the roll of our Honorary Members, with the possible exception of his

distinguished colleague, Professor Theodor Mommsen, the historian of Rome.

As we call to mind the circumstances of Curtius' life, we feel that he was exceptionally fortunate in his preparation for his life work. It might be almost regarded as providential that a young man, only twenty-three years old, should have been selected to act as tutor to the children of Brandis, who accompanied King Otho, of Bavaria, to Athens, in 1837, in the capacity of Privy Councillor. The two years he was thus enabled to spend in Greece in study and in travel, through the Peloponnesus in company with Karl Ritter, the great classical geographer, and at Delphi with Ottfried Müller, the accomplished archæologist, at the time of his lamented death, were of priceless advantage in fitting him for those investigations which he afterwards carried out with such fruitful results.

After his return home, and while he was employed as instructor in a gymnasium at Berlin, he was fortunate enough, by a brilliant lecture upon the Acropolis of Athens, to attract the attention of the Princess Augusta, the wife of Prince William of Prussia, so that shortly after, in 1844, he was selected by her to be the tutor of her son, the future Emperor Frederic. This gift of eloquent speech always stood Curtius in good stead his life long; it was employed in solemn addresses before the University upon the birthday of the King of Prussia, and in promoting those undertakings upon which he had set his heart; and enhanced by his intimate relations with the royal family, it greatly facilitated the establishment of the German School of Classical Studies at Athens, and the explorations at Olympia, which will be ever associated with his name.

For six years he continued to direct the studies of his distinguished pupil, in the mean time giving to the world in 1850 his study upon "The Peloponnesus," which still remains the most important work upon that region. In 1856 he was made Professor at Göttingen, from which University he was called to Berlin in 1869. That city always continued to be his home, and he ever held a very distinguished position in its literary society. He had already published, in 1867, the great work upon which his reputation will always rest secure, — his "History of Greece," in five volumes. I think this will

never be superseded ; for it is scarcely possible for any writer to be better equipped for the historian's task, both by knowledge of the topography and the antiquities of the country and by familiar acquaintance with its literary remains.

The most important work of his later years was the supervision, from 1876 to 1880, of the excavations at Olympia, carried on at a great expense by the German government. These were unquestionably prompted by the interest excited in the mind of the Crown Prince Frederic by an address upon Olympia, delivered by Curtius in 1852; and their effect in promoting our knowledge of Greek art and antiquities cannot be overestimated.

Curtius did not lack for proper appreciation in his lifetime, and he was made the recipient of very unusual honors. In 1884 a fine bust of himself was presented to him by his admirers, including nearly a hundred American scholars, with the historian Bancroft at their head; and on his eightieth birthday a copy of this bust was set up at Olympia and crowned, while addresses in his honor were delivered by scholars of different nationalities then resident in Greece.

He has gone to his rest in the fulness of his years and his honors; and we, in common with the scholars of all countries, desire to pay to him the tribute of our respect and admiration.

An informal discussion then took place with relation to the manuscript of Bradford's History of Plymouth and some other subjects, in which the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Messrs. JUSTIN WINSOR, EDWARD L. PIERCE, CLEMENT H. HILL, A. C. GOODELL, Jr., WILLIAM R. THAYER, CHARLES C. SMITH, and others participated.

The Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE called attention to a small volume on the table, and spoke in substance as follows:—

My apology for occupying the time of the Society with a family enterprise,—a sketch of my maternal grandfather, Major John Lillie, 1755–1801, and an account of the Lillie family of Boston, 1663–1896,—which, now printed in a volume (pp. 122), has taken the better part of my time for a half-year or more, is that it touches matters of general interest, particularly in the history of Boston.

Major Lillie served as a soldier through the Revolutionary

war; was a captain in Colonel John Crane's regiment of artillery; took part in the retreat from Long Island and in the campaigns in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. He appears to have been a brave and trusted officer, and skilful in planning fortifications. The artillery, though small in numbers, was a very effective arm of the service, and was much under Washington's immediate eye. From May 1, 1782, to the end of hostilities, Major Lillie was on the staff of Major-General Henry Knox, whose headquarters were at New Windsor on the Hudson, in a mansion, still well preserved, which I visited last June.

Major Lillie was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, signing at the same time with his friends Knox and Samuel Shaw, the last-named being his kinsman. After the war he embarked in trade in Boston and Milton, and went upon voyages to the South and the Mediterranean, assisted in these enterprises, to some extent, by his maternal uncle Samuel Breck,¹ the well-known Boston merchant, and his father-in-law Daniel Vose, the principal man of business in Milton; he formed at one time a partnership with General Knox for catching salmon at the mouth of the Penobscot; but he did not find success in any of these ventures. He again sought a place in the army, and the kindly and neighborly interest of President John Adams at length secured for him the appointment of captain in a new corps of artillerists and engineers. He was assigned to the command of the post at West Point June 17, 1801. He had now a sense of security, and took pleasure in his congenial duties; but death was at hand. He died suddenly of apoplexy September 22 of that year. The Military Academy was then in a formative condition, and his son was the eighth cadet admitted.

The Lillie family first appears in Boston in 1663, in the person of Edward Lillie, who seems to have done a considerable business at the North End, where he had a wharf bordering on the Town Dock and the Conduit, the curious reservoir of that day. He was undoubtedly an Englishman, but the place of his English origin is unknown. As the family had held to the time of the Revolution a fishing "plantation" at St. John's, Newfoundland, acquired in the seventeenth century, there is reason to suppose that, like other settlers of that town, they emigrated from the West of England to St. John's, and

¹ Father of the author of the "Recollections."

thence removed to Boston, there having been an active trade between the two places as early as 1645, which increased greatly during the next fifteen years. After the peace of 1783 the British government dispossessed the family of the property, without compensation, taking the ground that they had become aliens, and could not therefore hold it under the Acts of Parliament of 1699 and 1775; but the papers in the case create a suspicion that this arbitrary proceeding was prompted by a spirit of retaliation, — it being the time when the estates of British Loyalists in this country were being confiscated.

The sons of Edward Lillie were all ship-owners or mariners; and their careers illustrate the spirit of commercial adventure which distinguished New England at the close of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. Samuel, the eldest, married a daughter of Theophilus Frary, deacon of the Old South Church, who in his theological zeal disturbed the rites of the English Church at Edward Lillie's funeral, and was in consequence bound over to keep the peace.¹ Samuel Lillie (born 1663, died 1730) built a large number of vessels in the shipyards of Essex and Plymouth counties, which he sent to the West Indies and Europe, and he is likely to have been the largest ship-owner of his time in Boston; but he undertook more than he could accomplish, and his career as a merchant ended in failure. His wife's mother was an Eliot of the South End family (to which the Apostle Eliot belonged), and this connection brought him into relations with Isaac Royall, of Medford, father of the Loyalist of the same name. A suit between Lillie and Royall on a bond given by the latter was in the courts for half a century, surviving the original parties and showing a pertinacity in litigation rarely equalled in our time. Paul Dudley and John Valentine appear as prominent lawyers of that period.

Thomas Lillie, brother of Samuel, married a sister of Sir Charles Hobby. He commanded a private ship of war which cruised in the Mediterranean at the time of the war of the Spanish succession; and he died in 1704 at Cagliari in southern Sardinia from a wound received in an encounter with a Spanish ship. It appears by his nuncupative will proved six years

¹ The story is told in a letter from Joshua Moody to Increase Mather, printed in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. xiii. pp. 370, 371. In their foot-note the Editors incorrectly give Lillie's Christian name as Samuel instead of Edward.

afterwards in Boston that he had funds, proceeds of prizes, at Tunis, Leghorn, and Lisbon. The maritime adventure of our fathers thus led them into freebooting in distant seas. Thomas's widow, after a due season of mourning, married Oxenbridge Thacher, the elder, and became the mother of the distinguished patriot lawyer of the same name.

The Lillie of the next generation was Theophilus (born 1690, died 1760, first of the name, father of Theophilus the Loyalist, who was the uncle of Major John Lillie. He married a daughter of John Ruck, a solid man of Boston in his day, much occupied with municipal offices, whose wife was Hannah Hutchinson, daughter of Colonel Elisha Hutchinson, and aunt of the last Royal Governor of Massachusetts. This blood connection brought the Lillies and Hutchinsons closely together, and the intimacy was kept up at Halifax between Theophilus Lillie and his widow and the family of Foster Hutchinson.

The progenitor of the Lillie family in Boston is perpetuated only in the sixteen descendants of Major John Lillie and in those of two of his sisters, whose progeny is numerous. One of them married Samuel Howard, reputed a member of the "Tea Party," and her posterity is well known in Cambridge and Boston. From her came the Whites of Watertown, bearing in Cambridge, now or in recent times, the names of Lowell, Howe, Elliott, and Devens; the Fays, descendants of Judge Samuel P. P. Fay, of the same place; and the Gilmans, descendants of Rev. Samuel Gilman of Charleston, South Carolina. Other descendants of Mrs. Howard are living in Georgia.

In this study of local and personal history, particularly as to affairs in Boston, in the latter part of the seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth century, I have been much aided by the Suffolk Court Files, only recently opened to investigators, now arranged in well-bound volumes and indexed,—a work which has been well executed under the direction of our associate Mr. Upham.

Mr. CLEMENT HUGH HILL communicated a memoir of the late Hon. Rufus Choate which he had been requested to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

A new serial number of the Proceedings, containing the record of the May and June meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.

U. O. P.

MEMOIR
OF THE
HON. RUFUS CHOATE.

BY CLEMENT HUGH HILL.

RUFUS CHOATE, the second son of David and Miriam (Foster) Choate, was born in the district of Chebacco (since incorporated as the town of Essex), in Ipswich in Essex County, Massachusetts, on the 1st of October, 1799. His family, which had been in the county since its first settlement, belonged to the well-to-do New England yeoman class, and the name is common in Essex County, and has been borne by some other distinguished men. Dr. George Choate, of Salem, Mr. Choate's first cousin, was father of four sons, three of whom have gained reputation as lawyers, and one as a physician. Joseph Hodges Choate, now a leader at the New York bar, is one of these. David Choate, a man of influence and substance, politically a strong Federalist, died in 1808, and the training of the young family thus fell to their mother (daughter of Captain Aaron Foster), who was in every way equal to the responsibility, and to whom her children were deeply attached. Her second son is said to have greatly resembled her in features, and to have inherited from her his wit and humor. She died in 1852.¹

Choate's boyhood was that of the New England country lad of his class and time. He helped in the labor on the farm, and went to the town schools. He early showed a love of

¹ For the particulars of Mr. Choate's life the writer is chiefly indebted to Professor Brown's "Life and Writings of Rufus Choate," and to Judge Neilson's "Memories." Mr. E. G. Parker's "Reminiscences," although not without interest and value, are somewhat apocryphal, and must be accepted with great allowances. Professor Brown's defects are owing to his not being a lawyer. He is most painstaking and generally most interesting. Mr. Whipple's little book of "Recollections" is also of interest.

1852





Portrait of the author of the "Principes de la Philosophie" (Paris, 1804).

Principes de la Philosophie

reading, and eagerly devoured everything within his reach. Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" was his first favorite, and afterwards, singularly enough, a widely different book, a Memoir of Marshal Saxe, which the family happened to own. Besides these, we are told that while young he also read Rollin's Ancient History, Plutarch, Telemachus, and Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. At ten he began to study Latin under Dr. Thomas Sewall, a young physician, afterwards his brother-in-law, and early evinced that love for the classics which distinguished him through life, and colored all his speeches and literary work. In January, 1815, he went to the Academy at Hampton, New Hampshire, to complete his preparation for Dartmouth College, which he entered in the following autumn.

His inadequate preparation at first put him to a disadvantage at Dartmouth, but by hard work he rapidly overcame this, and the tradition long lingered in the college halls that there had never been known such a scholar within them. His studies and reading extended far beyond the ordinary curriculum, and he graduated with the valedictory address and with a high reputation for both scholarship and ability in 1819. A year was next spent at Dartmouth as Tutor in Classics, after which, having selected the law as his profession, he entered the Harvard Law School. In February, 1822, his brother-in-law, Dr. Sewall, who had settled at Washington, procured him a place as pupil for some months in the office of Mr. Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States.¹

This early acquaintance with the capital of the country was of great service to a young man like him and of his limited experience. "It enlarged," says his biographer, "his knowledge of public men and of affairs. He became familiar with the public administration. He spent some hours almost daily in the Library of Congress. He began to comprehend still more fully the dignity of his chosen profession. He saw Marshall upon the bench, and heard Pinkney in the Senate and in his last speech in court; and thenceforth became more than ever an admirer of the genius of those eminent men." Family affairs caused him to leave Washington before the end of the year. He finished his studies with Mr. Asa

¹ Mr. Corwin, Chief Justice Chase, and Mr. Justice Swayne were also, we believe, at different times students of Mr. Wirt.

Andrews, of Ipswich, and Mr. David Cummins, of Salem, and in September, 1823, was admitted to practice in the Court of Common Pleas, and two years later in the Supreme Judicial Court.

He opened an office first at Danvers, removing to Salem in 1828, when Mr. Cummins was appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. At first he practised a good deal in the criminal courts with great success, and it is said that "no man was convicted whom he defended." But while this taught him how to examine witnesses and to address juries, and gave him the confidence and self-possession so essential to a *nisi prius* lawyer, the pecuniary return was not great, and at times he was discouraged. He felt able, however, in 1825, to marry a young lady to whom he was deeply attached and had been some time engaged, Helen, daughter of the Hon. Mills Olcott, of Hanover, New Hampshire; and about this time his clients rapidly increased in number and importance. His name first appears in the Reports in the case of *White v. Winchester*, in 1826, and reported in the sixth of Pickering, and also in three other cases in the same volume. The next year it appears in six cases, the year afterwards in three, and by the time he was thirty he was arguing cases on an equality with John Pickering, Leverett Saltonstall, and other leading lawyers in the county, old enough to be his father; and he appears as counsel in other cases with men like Shaw, Hubbard, and Fletcher, of Boston, who occasionally attended the Essex courts.

In 1826 and 1827 Choate represented the town of Danvers in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and in 1829 he was one of the Senators from Essex County; and his reputation and his personal popularity were so great that in 1830 a successful movement was started to send him to Congress from the Essex South District. His opponent was Benjamin W. Crowninshield, who had sat for it for eight years, and was a man of large wealth and of high social position, as well as a veteran politician, who had been Secretary of the Navy under Madison, when Choate was a boy at Hampton Academy, and who was by no means willing to give up a seat which the traditions of Massachusetts at that time entitled him to regard as almost a permanency. A bitter contest ensued. Choate's candidature was opposed as that of a young, inexperienced

man, who had only stopped at Salem "while he oated his horses on his way to Boston." He was, besides, outside of the charmed circle which in those days so influenced Massachusetts politics, and in allowing himself to be a candidate he was looked upon as presumptuous and over-ambitious. He himself had grave doubts whether he ought to allow his name to be put forward for an honor which he had not sought and could ill afford to accept, but he gave way to the wishes of his friends, and in the end was triumphantly elected. "The matter of my election," he says, in a letter to his old college friend Dr. James Marsh,¹ "I do suppose rather a foolish one on my part; but the nomination was so made that I could not avoid it without wilfully shutting myself out of Congress for life, since my declining would undoubtedly have brought forward some other new candidate, who, if elected, would go ten years at least, long before which, if living, I might have removed from the district. The opposition which was got up was formidable, for noise and anger at least, and the wonder is so little came of it. . . . Political life, between us, is no part of my plan, although I trust I shall aim in good faith to perform the duties *temporarily* and *incidentally* thus assigned."

His day of trial, of doubt, and of anxiety was over. Success had come and come early, and at thirty-one he was not only a leader at an able bar, already especially distinguished for his ability and eloquence as an advocate, but had been elected by reason of his ability and great personal popularity without the aid of wealth or family, and in spite of a powerful opposition, to represent in Congress a district full of able and ambitious men. His studies and reading outside of his profession had been wide and various. Little is said as to how he acquired that wealth and picturesqueness of language which made his diction so rich and fascinating. It was doubtless to a great extent born with him, but it was already increased and perfected by reading the best English authors, and now as well as afterwards by translations from the Latin and Greek. No traditions remain of his career in the Massachusetts Legislature; but this experience alone would have prevented a man like him, notwithstanding the absorbing labors of his profes-

¹ President of the University of Vermont, and distinguished for his ability and learning, and especially as one of the earliest students of Coleridge in the United States.

sion, from continuing a mere lawyer. How high his ideal was as to the culture requisite to great success at the bar, is shown by a letter written ten years later to a young friend who thought of becoming his pupil : —

“As immediately preparatory to the study of the law, I should follow the usual suggestion to review thoroughly English history, constitutional history in Hallam particularly, and American Constitutional and Civil History in Pitkin and Story. Rutherford's Institutes and the best course of Moral Philosophy you can find will be very valuable introductory consolidating matter. Aristotle's Politics and all of Edmund Burke's works and all of Cicero's works would form an admirable course of reading, ‘a library of eloquence and reason,’ to form the sentiments and polish the tastes and enlarge the mind of a young man aspiring to become a lawyer and a statesman. Cicero and Burke I would know by heart ; both superlatively great, the latter the greatest, living in a later age, belonging to the modern mind and genius, though the former had more power over an audience. Both knew everything.

“I would read every day one page at least, more if you can, in some fine English writer, solely for elegant style and expression. William Pinkney said to a friend of mine, he never read a fine sentence in any author without committing it to memory. The result was decidedly the most splendid and most powerful English-spoken style I ever heard.”¹

This list is pretty formidable as a course of reading collateral to the purely professional studies, which are engrossing enough for most men ; but it is certain that Choate early accomplished all this and much more besides. The demand for him as an orator on special occasions and as a lecturer before lyceums and literary societies began at this time, and helped to make him known outside of legal circles.

Choate took his seat in Congress in December, 1831, and was a participator in the exciting debates arising from the Nullification contest during President Jackson's first administration. Webster and Nathaniel Silsbee represented Massachusetts in the Senate, and John Quincy Adams, Nathan Appleton, Isaac C. Bates, George N. Briggs, John Davis, and Edward Everett were colleagues in the House. Besides these the latter body contained men like George Evans of Maine, Tristram Burges of Rhode Island, Verplanck of New York, Stevenson of Virginia (Speaker), Corwin and Vinton of Ohio, McDuffie of South Carolina, Wayne of Georgia, and Bell and

¹ Letter to Dr. R. S. Storrs, “Brown's Life and Writings,” vol. i. p. 47..

Polk of Tennessee. With them the brilliant young lawyer was fully prepared to rank as an equal; and a speech which he early delivered on the tariff established his reputation as a parliamentary speaker.

"There were but few members present when he rose; but as he continued to speak, one after another came from the lobbies to the door, stood a moment to listen, were caught and drawn to their seats by the irresistible charm of his mellifluous utterance, till gradually the hall became full, and all for convenience of hearing gathered in a circle about the speaker. He had a nervous dread of thunder, and was never quite at ease in a severe storm. Before he had half finished his speech, a dark thunder-cloud rolled up and suddenly burst over the Capitol. Mr. Choate was standing directly under the central skylight, his face pale with a blackish paleness, and his whole frame tremulous with unusual excitement. The hearers caught his emotion, and listened intently as he went on. At the same time the increasing darkness, the rushing wind and rain, the lurid light through the distant windows, the red and searching gleams of the lightning, the rattling peals of thunder, the circle of upturned pale faces, lighted from above, gazing earnestly on the speaker, — all made it a scene not easily to be forgotten. He spoke in the modest deferential manner natural to him, with the same delicious uninterrupted flow of choice words, and with hardly a gesture except the lifting and settling of the upper part of the body; and he sat down amidst the enthusiasm of those who heard him, members of all parties rushing to offer their congratulations."

In 1832 Choate warmly supported Mr. Clay, the candidate for the Presidency of the newly formed party, which two years later took the name of Whig. The result of the election, although foreseen, was still in its extent a disappointment and discouragement. "The news from the voting States," he wrote to Mr. Everett in November, "blows over us like a great cold storm. I suppose all is lost, and that the map may be rolled up for twelve years to come. Happy, when it is opened again, if no State is missing." He was renominated for Congress and elected by a large majority, Mr. Crowninshield's friends no longer opposing him; but notwithstanding his rising reputation at Washington, in 1834 he resigned his seat in Congress and removed from Salem to Boston.

Even for a man of his ability and position, the change was attended with some risk, and more than one leading country lawyer has found that he made a sad blunder in doing so.

Boston was then a city of between sixty and seventy thousand inhabitants; and notwithstanding its great commercial and manufacturing interests, the bar seemed rather overmanned. Webster, although since his election to the Senate local practice was of subordinate interest to him, and Mason, who in 1832 had moved from Portsmouth, appeared in great cases, and Samuel Hubbard, Richard Fletcher, Franklin Dexter, Charles G. Loring, and Peleg Sprague (who after a brilliant career in the Senate had moved to Boston from Maine) — all Choate's seniors — were in possession of the field, and were not desirous of making room for another; while more nearly his own age were William H. Gardiner and Sidney Bartlett, and, among the young men, Benjamin R. Curtis, ten years his junior, but destined to rise more rapidly even than he had done to leadership. The traditions of the day are that the "young man from Essex" was greeted by his brethren with anything but cordiality. He was neither a Bostonian nor a graduate of Harvard, nor had he the overshadowing reputation of Mason, while his style of argument was derided, and to the end was never quite acceptable to the Boston taste. Indeed, although he lived in Boston during his entire after life, it can hardly be said he was *of* Boston. A recluse in his habits, not only was general society distasteful to him, but he seems to have mixed little in the literary circles of the city and its neighborhood, and what time was not devoted to his absorbing legal duties was spent in his library alone or in the company of one or two friends. Perhaps the fact that he and his family clung to the old New England Congregationalism had some influence in thus isolating him. "The two high-class religions of those days," says Dr. Holmes, "were white-handed Unitarianism and ruffled-shirt Episcopalianism. What called itself 'Society' was chiefly distributed between them. . . . A certain exclusiveness and fastidiousness not reminding us exactly of Primitive Christianity was the result."¹

Forming a partnership with Francis B. Crowninshield, a son of his predecessor in Congress, Choate entered into the conflict with confidence and indefatigable energy. And he fully maintained in this wider field the position which he had gained in the country. One of his earliest cases was that of

¹ *Life of Emerson*, pp. 34, 35.

the slave *Med*, *Commonwealth v. Aves*, at March term, 1836,¹ involving the vital question of whether a slave-owner could temporarily bring his slave into Massachusetts and restrain him of his liberty, when he appeared with Ellis Gray Loring as counsel for the Commonwealth; Mr. Curtis, who twenty years after so distinguished himself as one of the dissenting judges in the *Dred Scott* case, making the principal argument for the master. His success in getting practice was largely owing to his popularity among the younger members of the profession, who were attracted to him by his cordial manners, his amiable temper, and his readiness at all times to advise and assist them. Choate's position in Boston at about this time is well described in a letter from Sumner to Lieber, dated February 21, 1842. "I am glad you like Choate so well," he writes. "His position here is very firm. He is the leader of our bar, with an overwhelming superfluity of business, with a strong taste for books and learned men, with great amiableness of character, with uncommon eloquence and untiring industry."²

In 1841 both the Massachusetts senatorships became vacant, — the first by Mr. Davis's election as Governor, and the second by Mr. Webster's acceptance of the post of Secretary of State in President Harrison's Cabinet. The first was filled by the election of the Hon. Isaac C. Bates, of Northampton. For the second there were many competitors, including ex-Governor Lincoln, Mr. Dexter, Mr. Saltonstall, and Mr. Choate. The wishes of Mr. Webster had great influence in deciding who should be chosen, and he preferred Choate to all the rest. The latter's comparative youth, his long disconnection with politics, and the fact that he was not ambitious of a political career, fully account for the choice of the great Whig leader, who did not care to see one occupy his seat who might hereafter become a political rival, or who was at all unfriendly to him, as some of the other candidates were, and especially to his aspirations for the Presidency. His wishes decided the question, and Choate was elected by the united Whig party to the vacant seat. It was, however, with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to allow his name to be brought forward for it, and with extreme reluctance that he accepted the high honor. Pecuniary questions and the im-

¹ 18 Pick. 193.

² Pierce's *Life of Sumner*, vol. ii., pp. 201, 202.

possibility of retaining the great practice which he had got together after seven years of unremitting toil, and to which he looked as the means of supporting and making a permanent provision for his growing family, were the reasons which chiefly weighed with him in being so unwilling to take a position which to most men is the most attractive one in the government.

He took his seat at the extra session of Congress called by Mr. Tyler after General Harrison's death, and was appointed a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to the business of which he gave great attention, and many of his ablest speeches were delivered on international questions. His first was a defence, in reply to Mr. Buchanan, of Mr. Webster's letter on the case of Alexander McLeod on the 11th of June, 1841, which Mr. Sumner declared exhausted the subject and left nothing more to be said. It is doubtful if another member of the Senate could have delivered one so distinguished at once by close argumentation and brilliant eloquence. The case is too familiar to need to be stated here, but on the desirability of extending the immunity from personal responsibility enjoyed by soldiers by the law of nations, for acts done in obedience to the orders of their superiors, to all *de facto* soldiers and sailors, and to acts of hostility committed by a foreign power in time of peace as well as of war, the speaker was particularly eloquent, and what he said is well worth quoting:—

“Every motive which operated to introduce the principle into the law of nations at first is a motive to an enlarged and benignant construction and application of it to-day. Its adoption originally marked a vast advance on the ferocious systems of what we call natural society. It was a grand triumph of reason as well as of humanity. Policy and wisdom carried the world up to it, as well as right feeling. It was resorted to to relieve war of its horrors while it lasted; to make it easier to go back to peace, which is the true condition of man; to ameliorate the stern lot of the millions whom, in one age and in one country and another, force or patriotism crowds into the ranks of their country, and to lift up war itself from a vulgar and dreary business of general butchery to a service of glory, in which great souls may engage without degradation and without deterioration. These were the motives in which the principle was made part at first of the law of nations; and every one of them is a motive to give it the most expanded application in the light of this better day. Sir, it is one

of the brightest glories of civilization. Do not cause it to be dimmed by a penurious and reluctant interpretation and application. To do so would be to misconceive the direction in which the world is moving. I do not know when wars shall wholly cease; but I believe, I trust, that as the world comes nearer to that time, it will regard war more and more every day as an enormous evil, if a necessary evil, and will desire to relieve it more and more every day by the offices of Christian and chivalrous forbearance towards individual actors, — struck down, unarmed and unresisting."

Another most powerful speech was delivered by him on the 21st of February, 1844, again in reply to Mr. Buchanan, on the resolution for terminating the Convention of 1827 with Great Britain for the joint occupation of Oregon, in which, strong American as he was, he shows his hatred of gasconade and blustering talk of war. The resolution was introduced avowedly with a hostile intent. The passage where he repels the assertion that the majority of Americans were "penetrated by a deep-seated, deep-wrought sentiment of national enmity against" England, rises to a level of indignant eloquence worthy of Webster at his best. It is too long to quote, but the whole would have been well worth reading from the Secretary's desk, in the Senate, last winter, when, with even less excuse, appeals were made to the worst passions of the people to stir up animosity against Great Britain. The resolution, after a debate of several days, was rejected.

In Choate's first session in the Senate occurred that altercation with Mr. Clay which fifteen years afterwards was brought up against him for the alleged cowardice displayed by him at the time. The late Mr. Charles W. Storey, who was in the gallery of the Senate when it took place, always declared that the charge was grossly unjust. Choate's intimacy with Mr. Webster caused him to be regarded to some extent as the mouthpiece of the administration, and in urging an amendment to the bill establishing a national bank, then under debate, he indiscreetly said: "Sir, if you adhere to the bill reported by the Committee, I fully believe you pass no bank charter this session. I doubt whether you carry it through Congress. If you do, I do not believe you can make it a law. I have no doubt you will fail to do so. I do not enter on the reasons of my belief. The rules of orderly proceeding here, decorum, pride, regret, would all prevent my doing it. I have

no personal or private grounds for the convictions which hold me fast ; but I judge on notorious and, to my mind, decisive indications."

Notwithstanding the disclaimer in the latter part of the quotation, but one interpretation could be put upon the passage, and that was that the speaker had special reason to know that a veto would intervene (as it did) to prevent the bill in its existing shape from becoming law. Choate had doubtless been told this by Webster, who was anxious to prevent such a result. Mr. Clay, the father of the bill, who was naturally angered at the suggestion, was sitting near the speaker, and interrogated him sharply as to his means of knowledge, and on Choate's declining to tell, became very overbearing in his manner, interrupting him in his explanation and really attempting to browbeat him. Choate's apparent hesitancy in answering, in Mr. Storey's opinion, arose simply from the embarrassment caused by his indiscretion and the difficulty of avoiding bringing in Mr. Webster's name, as well as saying, what would have been entirely out of order, namely, that the President would not sign the bill as reported ; but cowardice there was none, as it appeared to those who were in the Senate at the time. Choate closed by telling Clay " that he would have to take the answer as he chose to give it to him." The next day Clay made an ample apology, and the two statesmen remained on the most friendly terms.

Choate's period of service in the Senate was only four years, and it has been so overshadowed by his professional eminence that its importance has been greatly underrated. Although during that time he took little part in ordinary debate, his speeches fully equal those of any one of his colleagues, and had he remained a member he would have left a reputation surpassed by very few. His oratory, in many respects, was better suited to the atmosphere of Washington than of Boston, and Mr. Everett says a Western member of Congress declared to him that " he was the most persuasive speaker he had ever heard." Some of his ablest speeches, as those for instance on the treaty of Washington of 1842, were delivered in executive session, and no report of them remains.¹

¹ Mr. Everett said of his whole congressional career : " In the daily routine of legislation he did not take an active part. He rather shunned clerical work, and consequently avoided, as much as duty permitted, the labor of the committee

Loyalty to Webster (in his opinion at least) would have prevented his remaining in the Senate when the former was prepared to resume his seat there. In 1844 he offered to resign, but upon a canvass of the Massachusetts Legislature it was found that Webster, whose conduct in remaining so long in President Tyler's cabinet had given great offence to the Whigs, could not be elected to the place; but he was elected the next winter, for the term beginning March 4, 1845, when Choate's term expired. Nor could Choate have afforded to remain longer in the Senate. The pay and mileage did not then amount to more than two thousand or twenty-five hundred dollars a year, while the time spent at Washington greatly interfered with his practice in Massachusetts, especially before juries, which became almost impossible. He had some practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, where he was always heard with delight, but not enough to make up for what he lost by absence from Boston.

In 1844 Mr. Choate threw himself most energetically into the Presidential conflict in support of Mr. Clay, and in a speech before the Young Men's Whig Club, in Tremont Temple, on August 19, on the Annexation of Texas, when he was introduced by Charles Francis Adams, he used one of those picturesque expressions of which he uttered so many, and which at once became proverbial: "I know there are Whigs enough, Whigs from their mothers' arms,—now and always such,—who without the stimulus of uncompromising hostility to Texas,—without that, on a calm habitual estimate of the general politics involved, *could turn Mr. Polk back again upon the convention that discovered him* and win anew the victory of 1840."

Choate said when he left the Senate that his political life

room; but on every great question that came up while he was a member of either House of Congress, he made a great speech, and when he had spoken there was little left for any one else to say on the same side of the question. . . . But though abundantly able to have filled a prominent place among the distinguished active statesmen of the day, he had little fondness for political life, and no aptitude whatever for the out-doors management,—for the election legerdemain,—for the wearisome correspondence with local great men,—and the heart-breaking drudgery of franking cartloads of speeches and public documents to the four winds,—which are necessary in the present day to great success in a political career. Still less adroit was he in turning to some personal advantage whatever topic happens for the moment to attract public attention; fishing with ever freshly baited hook in the turbid waters of an ephemeral popularity." (Brown's *Life and Writings*, vol. i. pp. 267, 268.)

was over; and although he constantly gave his services to his party in election times and came forward in other crises, as he regarded them, in national affairs, to advise his countrymen, he never again held or sought any political office or position. On resuming his ordinary life as a practising lawyer in Boston, he found the number of his former competitors greatly thinned by death and retirement from the profession, and for the next fourteen years he was without a rival at this bar and was overwhelmed by the business which flowed in upon him. The Reports give a very inadequate idea of the extent of his practice, as he was retained to try many cases to the jury which he never afterwards followed to the court in banc. Like all eminent jury lawyers in his day, he accepted retainers in criminal cases as well as in civil; and his successful defence of one man, for a murder of which he was, with little doubt, guilty, and of which the public at any rate, as represented by the newspapers, had already before his trial began found him guilty, brought upon him a great deal of unpopularity, part of which clung to him through life.

It was the case of Albert J. Tirrell, a young man of respectable family and connections but of vicious life, indicted for the murder of his mistress, Maria Bickford, at a house of ill-fame, in Mount Vernon Avenue, near Pinckney Street, in Boston, early on the morning of Monday, October 27, 1845. Tirrell, who was married and was already under indictment for adultery with Mrs. Bickford, was known to have been with her in her room late in the evening and after the time at which the house was locked up for the night. Screams which awakened other inmates of the house, and the sound of some heavy body falling, were heard between four and five o'clock proceeding from the room. Soon after a person was also heard going downstairs, and within a short time the house was discovered to be on fire in the same room. When this had been put out, the body of the poor woman was found at some distance from the bed, partly burnt and with her throat cut from ear to ear. A razor was also found near the body, and articles of clothing belonging to Tirrell, in the room, and the wash hand-basin was filled with water thick with blood. Tirrell, early that morning, called at a livery-stable near Bowdoin Square, saying that "he had got into trouble, that somebody had come into his room and tried to murder him"; and he hired



a vehicle and driver who took him to his old home in Weymouth. He escaped to New Orleans, where he was arrested and brought back to Boston.

The atrocity of the murder caused immense excitement, and created a strong feeling against the man, whom all the circumstances of the case seemed to show was the only one who could have committed it. Choate was retained by the prisoner's friends as leading counsel for the defence, which he undertook in the ordinary course of business; and the trial took place in the Supreme Court, before Justices Wilde, Dewey, and Hubbard, at March term, 1846. The character of the evidence coming from the unfortunate inmates of the house, and the reluctance of the jury to convict a man capitally upon it, weakened the government case from the beginning, and strong medical testimony declared that the wound might have been self-inflicted. What, however, caused the most comment was the defence that the act was committed when the prisoner was in a state of somnambulism. It was proved that Tirrell had been subject to such fits from his early boyhood, and this defence was raised at the earnest request of the prisoner's family. Other testimony which need not be told here tended to explain some of the circumstances which seemed to bear most heavily against him.

No good report of Choate's speech to the jury exists. Like so many interesting and most important criminal cases in this country,—such as in England would be fully reported and published in permanent form,—all our knowledge of the case must be gathered from very inadequate and uncorrected newspaper reports. His argument, however, convinced the jury that the evidence did not establish the prisoner's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Mr. Justice Dewey, the best criminal lawyer on the bench, who had been Prosecuting Attorney for the Western District of the Commonwealth for many years, and who was never accused of being too lenient to criminals, delivered the charge to the jury; and in it he treated the question of somnambulism seriously, and instructed the jury that if this defence was established its effect would be like a case of insanity, and would entitle the prisoner to an acquittal. The jury, after an absence of two hours, found the defendant not guilty, and the foreman, on being asked, said that they had not considered the question of somnambulism, but found

their verdict independently of it.¹ Mr. Justice Wilde, who had sat on the Supreme Bench then for more than thirty years, and whose stern impartiality was such that at the time of his retirement from it in 1850 Chief Justice Shaw said of him, in his address to the bar, that "he seemed to have as little regard for parties as if they were expressed in algebraical characters,"² declared that he was satisfied with the verdict.³ Tirrell was next tried on an indictment for arson (then a capital offence), when Chief Justice Shaw presided himself and delivered the charge to the jury, and was also acquitted, the evidence against him being weaker for this offence than for the murder. He was subsequently convicted on the indictment for adultery, and received the heaviest sentence which the law allowed.

A great outcry arose on this result, such as arose in a less degree on Jeremiah Mason's successful defence of the Methodist minister Avery, tried at Newport in 1833 for the murder of Sarah Maria Cornell, whom he was believed to have seduced, and on Ogden Hoffman's like success in defending Robinson, at New York, in 1836, indicted for the murder of his mistress, Helen Jewett, under circumstances astonishingly like the case of Tirrell. But we think the outcry was not justified. To convict a person of any crime and *a fortiori* of a capital offence, every link in the chain of evidence necessary to a conviction must be established to the satisfaction of the jury, — be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, as the text-books say; and in all three of the cases above mentioned, as in the Leavitt Alley case, tried in 1873, and the Borden case, tried at New Bedford in 1893, overwhelming as the evidence against the prisoners appeared to be in them all, the government failed to satisfy the jury on some minor point, but one still essential to its case. Choate made himself especially unpopular by raising in Tirrell's case the defence of somnambulism, but the ruling of the court would seem to have justified him. Any defence which is good in law certainly may be raised by counsel. If

¹ If we can credit Mr. Parker, Mr. Choate fully believed in this defence. He pressed it again at the second trial.

² 6 Cush. 588.

³ The late Mr. William Minot once told the writer that he remembered Judge Wilde's coming into his father's office the day after the acquittal, and saying, in reply to the latter's severe comments on the verdict, that he did not think the jury would have been warranted in returning one of guilty.

there is evidence to sustain it, his duty requires him to raise it. "The law allows it, and the court awards it."

The whole subject of the ethics of advocacy is a most difficult one.¹ From the days of the Roman Republic to those of Dean Swift, satirists have attacked the legal profession with intense bitterness, for the supposed immorality of its occupation. Yet all admit that the law is a science, which must be learnt as much as medicine or engineering, and that its administration requires men especially trained in it; and every civilized state has found it necessary to educate a body of men to hear and decide cases brought by litigants before its tribunals, and to try persons accused of crime; and because a man untrained in jurisprudence is incompetent to prosecute or defend his own cause in court, a class of like educated men becomes necessary to undertake this prosecution or defence for him and in his stead. Concede this, and most of the objections to advocacy are conceded to be untenable. The forensic conflict between counsel, whatever its disadvantages may be, is the best practical method which the world has yet discovered of separating in each case truth from falsehood, of eliminating error, and of enabling the court and jury to come to a right conclusion in the premises.

The existing system seldom has been better defended than by Mr. B. R. Curtis, in presenting to the Court the resolutions of the bar on Mr. Choate's death. Speaking of the usual critics of it, he said:—

"Such persons begin with the false assumption that in the complicated cases which are brought to trial here, one party is altogether right and the other altogether wrong. They are ignorant that in nearly all cases there is truth and justice and law on both sides; that it is for the tribunal to discover how much of these belong to each, and to balance them, and ascertain which preponderates; and that so artificial are the greater portion of our social rights, and so complex the facts on which they depend, that it is only by means of such an investigation and decision that it can be certainly known on which side the real justice is. That, consequently, it is the duty of the advocate to manifest and enforce all the elements of justice, truth, and law which exist on one side, and to take care that no false appearances of those great realities are exhibited on the other. That while the zealous discharge of this

¹ It is treated with great learning, candor, and impartiality by Mr. Forsyth, in his interesting book entitled "*Hortensius; or the Advocate*," chapter x.

duty is consistent with the most devoted loyalty to truth and justice, it calls for the exertion of the highest attainments and powers of the lawyer and the advocate in favor of the particular party whose interests have been intrusted to his care."

How much discretion an advocate has as to what cases he will undertake, is a question upon which advocates themselves differ. Cicero thought that advocates had discretion, and could refuse to defend a very notorious criminal like Verres, for example; although, as Mr. Forsyth quotes him, his language on this point does not seem to be always consistent. Erskine, probably the greatest of modern — certainly the greatest of English — advocates, held otherwise, and when censured for accepting a retainer for Thomas Paine, defendant for a seditious libel, he justified himself with great force: —

"I will forever, at all hazards, assert the dignity, independence, and integrity of the English bar, without which impartial justice, the most valuable part of the English constitution, can have no existence. From the moment that any advocate can be permitted to say that he *will* or will *not* stand between the Crown and the subject, arraigned in the court where he daily sits to practise, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end. If the advocate refuses to defend from what *he may think* of the charge or of the defence, he assumes the character of the judge; nay, he assumes it before the hour of judgment; and, in proportion to his rank and reputation, puts the heavy influence of perhaps a mistaken opinion into the scale against the accused, in whose favor the benevolent principle of English law makes all presumptions, and which commands the very judge to be his counsel."¹

Erskine spoke chiefly of political cases, but his doctrine is the one generally accepted in England under ordinary circumstances in all cases. In this country a lawyer has more discretion and may refuse a retainer, but in Massachusetts the courts always appoint competent counsel to defend persons capitally indicted, who have no counsel of their own, and then the rules of practice will not usually permit them to refuse. When, however, counsel do accept such cases, in the ordinary course of their practice, as Choate did in Tirrell's case, however unpopular the cause may be, it is most unjust to censure them. The more unpopular the alleged criminal may be, the more he needs counsel, and, unless all criminal cases are to be

¹ Quoted in "Hortensius," p. 439. The italics are in the original.

handed over for disposal to the newspapers and Judge Lynch, the more rigidly should the charge against him be examined. Many cases may be found in the judicial annals of England and America, where men have been convicted and in some instances hanged, with the entire approval of the judge, the jury, and the public, for offences of which they were afterwards proved innocent. Yet counsel are at times deterred from undertaking the defence of prisoners, because of the unpopularity they would incur by so doing. Guiteau, if we remember aright, could find no counsel, except his brother, to defend him; and Mr. Lothrop, in his *Life of William H. Seward*, has again told the story of the intense feeling excited against so distinguished a man as he, because of his assuming the defence of the wretched negro maniac Freeman, when no one else dared to undertake it, and when the public in Western New York seemed determined that he should be undefended.

Another difficult question is, What are an advocate's duties when he does undertake any case? He represents his client, not himself; and everybody understands this fact. The case is to be tried according to the rules of law, and his duty requires him to see that these are applied. He must do everything for his client which an honorable man can do, everything consistent with truth and honor, — a rule easily stated, but we admit sometimes difficult of application, and as to the application of which in individual cases people will differ. It is sometimes said that counsel in thus defending their clients often become too intensely partisan, and press their side of the case too eagerly. It is doubtless so; but the same is true in the halls of legislation of statesmen, whom party feeling and party spirit too much influence, while in ecclesiastical matters we see the saddest illustration of the difficulty which pious, devout men labor under of looking at both sides of any question they are interested in, and of doing justice to those differing from them. In these cases people are supposed to speak their deliberate opinions, — an advocate is not, but to be simply saying the best which can be said for his client, in the case on trial. We are of course, in all this, speaking of honorable advocacy, not of the rules of morality (if we can use the expression), which prevail among unprincipled or unscrupulous lawyers, of whom there are far too many in the profession, and to

whose misdeeds the greater part of its unpopularity may be traced.¹

Mr. Choate intended to prepare his argument in Tirrell's case for publication, but never found time to do so, and nothing remains of it but the imperfect newspaper reports of the day. We cannot forbear to quote from his *Life* one passage from these in which he commented upon a witness called out of place for the Commonwealth in one of the trials after the defence was closed, — familiar though it be to lawyers, — as an excellent example of his satirical humor: —

“Where was this tardy and belated witness who comes here to tell us all he knows and all he does not know, forty-eight hours after the evidence for the defence is closed? Is the case so obscure that he never heard of it? Was he ill or in custody? Was he in Europe, Asia, or Africa? Was he on the Red Sea, or the Yellow Sea, or the Black Sea, or the Mediterranean Sea? Was he at Land's End or at John O'Groat's house? Was he with Commissioners on our North-eastern boundary, drawing and defining that much vexed boundary line? Or was he with General Taylor and his army at Chihuahua, or wherever the fleeting Southwestern boundary line of our country may at this present moment be? No, Gentlemen, he was at none of these places (comparatively easy of access) but — and I would call your attention, Mr. Foreman, to the fact, and urge it upon your consideration — he was at that remote, more inaccessible region, whence so few travellers return — Roxbury.”

In 1848 a proposal was made to Mr. Choate, by the Corporation of Harvard University, to take one of the Professorships in the Law School there. It would have necessitated residence in Cambridge and his retirement from jury practice; but his duties would have been so arranged (as in the case of Mr. Justice Story) that he could be always in attendance at the sessions of the Supreme Court at Washington, where his emoluments would, it was supposed, be very large. He declined, after consideration, to entertain the proposition. In the same year a seat on the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts was offered and declined, and nine years later the seat on the Supreme Court of the United States, made vacant by Mr.

¹ The well-known defence of legal advocacy by Dr. Johnson, whose “majestic common-sense” and hatred of all cant, combined as they were with a tender conscience, make him a high authority on all matters of casuistry, is in *Boswell's Life* (Hill's edition), vol. ii. p. 47; vol. v. p. 26. It is not worth while to notice the abuse of Mr. Choate on this subject by a virago like Mr. Wendell Phillips.

Justice Curtis's resignation, was at his disposal, and was likewise declined. Pecuniary considerations may have weighed with him in refusing these positions, but he declared that their duties would have been distasteful to him, and it may be doubted if he would have added to his reputation by undertaking them.

Choate's professional connection with Mr. Crowninshield terminated in 1849, and he associated himself with his nephew and son-in-law, Mr. Joseph Mills Bell, for the rest of his life. Up to this time, laborious as had been his life and great his reputation, he had been so careless of his private affairs and so indifferent to pecuniary gain, and even to the collection of his fees, that he had saved little or nothing. From this time, however, his interests were more carefully looked after, his rate of charges raised, and the fees collected; but his income, even after this, seems small to us, and was not so large as some other lawyers of less ability made. For the last ten years of his life it averaged \$18,000 a year. His largest, in 1856, was \$22,000, and the largest fee he ever received but twenty-five hundred dollars. Lawyers now sometimes receive in one case a larger sum than his annual income ever was. In 1853 on the Attorney-Generalship of the Commonwealth becoming vacant by Mr. Clifford's election to be governor, Mr. Choate accepted it, hoping thus to get rid of his criminal practice, but its duties were incompatible with his enormous private practice, and he resigned it at the end of the year. The yearly number of causes which he tried and argued, including hearings before legislative committees, was over seventy. At the *nisi prius* sittings of the Supreme Court in Boston, he was in almost every large case, and at one session, when he was engaged in the trial of a case at Newport, it was difficult to occupy the time of the court.

Such a practice under our system, where the same man is both attorney and counsel, could not be managed without the most indefatigable industry, and then was larger than even Choate could do well. Of his industry, his son-in-law, Mr. Edward Ellerton Pratt, says, in a letter to Judge Neilson:

"Mr. Choate was the most untiring worker I ever met. He was up by five o'clock in the morning as a rule, made a cup of tea for himself, worked awhile, went out for a walk, came home to breakfast, went to business at nine, worked all day, and perhaps was before some legis-

lative committee for an argument in the evening; and I have known him to be all that time without taking any food. Indeed, I have seen a check for half a dollar which he gave at the close of such a day, when, having no money with him, he became conscious of the need of refreshment."

Such absorption in his profession was in some ways detrimental to him, and greatly narrowed his horizon and his sympathies. Kind-hearted man as he was, he never seems to have shown any interest in philanthropic and social questions. About slavery we shall speak hereafter, but neither the condition of the poor, education (except high culture), temperance, nor any other cause of religion or benevolence attracted him so as to induce him to appear on a platform in its behalf. In this respect he was a striking contrast not only to Mr. Everett and Mr. Winthrop, but even to Mr. Webster. We are told that he was serious in his religious opinions, read much in theology, and firmly believed the doctrines with which old New England Congregationalism is associated; but the only occasion when he ever seems to have taken part in any denominational gathering was when he made an address at the celebration of the completion of the first twenty-five years of his pastor's ministry. He doubtless subscribed liberally for religious and charitable objects. But with this, his services to them terminated.

All this was an undoubted defect. It prevented too his being in touch with large classes of the community, with whom many other public men were. His political and literary addresses were all designed for educated men. It may be said that there was then a good deal of frothy philanthropy, which was offensive to his conservative instincts and his culture; that the violence with which many causes were advocated and the abuse heaped upon men who did not, in supporting any cause, come up to the standard deemed essential by its special champions, because they saw that there were two sides to every question, or recognized honest differences of opinion in respect of it, disgusted him, and strengthened his inclination to leave these subjects to less busy men; content with subscribing, to the best of his ability, to those which commended themselves to his judgment; but this explanation covers only a few subjects, and is no sufficient excuse.

His one great love was his country; his passion, nationality.

Born and reared in rural Massachusetts, educated in New Hampshire, early in life becoming acquainted with the capital of the country, as a student and afterwards as Congressman, and not settling in Boston, his future home, till he was thirty-five, no strong local attachment or feeling interfered with his love for the Union at large. A New Englander by descent, birth, and education, his affection for New England was absorbed in his affection for the whole country. Her history, her astonishing growth, her future, were his constant theme. He was a thorough and enthusiastic American. In travelling in Europe he saw no country like his own; and although far removed from an Anglophobist, he was constantly comparing everything English with the like thing in his own land, to the disadvantage of the former. The American Constitution was superior to the English; law was better administered here than in England; the Presidential election of 1840 was more dignified than the Parliamentary general election of 1841; John Quincy Adams was a more remarkable man than the Duke of Wellington; Longfellow was a better poet than Tennyson,—these and other comparisons, often on most superficial and doubtful premises, he was constantly making through life, and they constantly appear in his speeches, letters, and conversation.

He conscientiously believed that the Union formed in 1787 was of overwhelming importance to the future of the country, and of free government throughout the world, and that to its preservation everything else should be subordinated. This decided his attitude about slavery. It is needless to say that he recognized the iniquitous injustice of this institution, its deteriorating influence on the dominant race, its terrible injury to any country where it existed; but as to practical action, he would treat it only in its political aspects. The moral indignation concerning it, which stirred up so many conservative men, and the terror with which they, and at last the largest part of the North, regarded its spread into new territory and its unwearied aggressions, affected him very little. It was a local institution, recognized by the Constitution (which without such recognition could not have been adopted), and must be acquiesced in by all loyal men, and its ultimate amelioration and extinction, for which he hoped, left to the States in which it existed. It was a question like the Tariff

or the United States Bank, only more difficult and dangerous. Opposed as he was to its extension to the free territories, not yet formed into States, he was hardly willing to risk the Union in order to forbid it, but adopted Mr. Webster's easy optimism that nature had forbidden its permanent existence there. In 1848 he earnestly supported General Taylor's candidature for the Presidency, and in 1852, greatly as he was disappointed at the refusal of the Whigs to nominate Mr. Webster, he cheerfully voted for General Scott, and, unlike many of Mr. Webster's friends, and Mr. Webster himself, desired his election.¹ He strongly supported the compromise measures of 1850, which is not surprising when we remember Mr. Webster's great influence over him, and that many public men of far stronger antislavery feelings than his did the same. But the wanton repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act in 1854 did not arouse in him the indignation which it stirred up in many; or, on the consequent extinction of the Whig party, prevent his supporting for the Presidency in 1856 Mr. Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, — whose party was responsible for this uncalled-for reopening of the whole slavery question, — in preference not only to Colonel Fremont, nominated by the newly formed Republican party, but to Mr. Fillmore, an old Whig, whom most Whigs, feeling as he did, supported.

Nor did he confine himself to simply announcing for whom he intended to vote. He threw himself actively into the canvass, and dwelt vehemently upon the dangers of a "geographical" party, — forgetting, however, that all the Southern Whigs but two or three, by refusing to support their Northern associates in opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, had made the issue geographical. In all this he was certainly sincere. To separate himself from his old friends must have been truly painful; to find himself, proud man as he was, on the same platform with politicians like Caleb Cushing and Benjamin F. Butler, almost humiliating. He doubtless hoped that Mr. Buchanan, unlike poor President Pierce, in the toils of Jefferson Davis and Mr. Cushing, would prove a conservative

¹ It has been said that in the Whig Convention at Baltimore in 1852, which Mr. Choate attended, and where he attracted great attention, a proposition was made for the party to unite upon him as a compromise candidate, but that he positively refused the use of his name.

President; would put an end to Pierce's "jingo" foreign policy, and impartially suppress the guerilla war in Kansas. As to the first, on Mr. Buchanan's election he was not disappointed. Notwithstanding the unsavory odor of the "Ostend manifesto," the new President's conduct of foreign affairs was the most creditable part of his administration. But when, so far from protecting the Northern settlers in Kansas, he seemed determined to force slavery upon the inhabitants, in utter disregard of their wishes and their votes, Mr. Choate was silent.

We must remember that he, like Mr. Everett and many other Northern statesmen, sneered at as "Union savers," foresaw that the continued agitation of the slavery question would end in civil war. This the great majority at the North did not see, or we should hardly have elected Mr. Lincoln in 1860. It was almost impossible for Northern men to believe that the South was really in earnest in its threats of secession. Knowing that the South had no real grievance, that these constant attempts to extend slavery had been greatly aided by previous threats of the same kind, the North generally took the renewed threats to be only a "game of bluff." "You cannot kick the South out of the Union" was a common saying in those days among serious politicians. Mr. Choate, like Mr. Everett, knew better. "I shall not probably live to see it," he said some years before his death, "but I fear that there will be, ere long, a civil war between the North and the South." This determined his course; for he could not, like many Northern men, "let the Union slide." Flinging out one of those characteristic electrical sentences which were almost instantly in everybody's mouth, "We join ourselves to no party," he wrote, "that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union."

His course brought upon him great unpopularity, and this was enhanced by a sentence of his which was taken out of its context and quoted far and wide. Speaking of the Republican party (his *bête noire*, from its geographical character), he wrote: "It will represent to their eye [the South] a vast region of States organized upon antislavery, flushed by triumph, cheered onward by the voices of the pulpit, tribune, and press; its mission to inaugurate freedom and put down 'the oligarchy';¹

¹ One of Mr. Sumner's favorite appellations of the Southern people, as was also "the oligarchs of slavery."

its Constitution the *glittering and sounding generalities of natural right which make up the Declaration of Independence.*" The words in italics were unfortunate, because they might so easily be misunderstood, and lent themselves so easily to misrepresentation. That people who never read the entire letter and knew nothing of American history should misunderstand them, that demagogues should misrepresent them, was natural; but that experienced statesmen and thoughtful scholars could have done the writer the injustice which they did do him for using the phrase, could only have been possible during the excitement of a most momentous political conflict. Had he lived, this love of Union would have made him an ardent supporter of the National Administration in its struggle to suppress the insurrection and to preserve this same Union when civil war finally broke out.

Literature was the solace and amusement of Mr. Choate's leisure hours. He had formed a large miscellaneous library of six thousand volumes, and probably his happiest hours were spent in it, in the society of one or two kindred spirits, and (when these were absent) of the "immortals," whom he loved so well. Ordinary society he avoided; and although country-bred and admiring for the moment grand scenery, country life and country pursuits had no attraction for him. In this respect he was a great contrast to Mr. Webster. He was not a sportsman; we never hear of his riding. His only exercise was walking. He gave much more time than he could afford to lectures and literary addresses before colleges, mercantile library associations, mechanics' institutes, and lyceums. Those of them which are printed in his works have a high degree of excellence, especially when we consider how great his professional labors were, and how little time he had in which to prepare them. Frequent visits made by his neighbor Mr. Everett to him, when confined to the house by an accident, four years before his death, changed the relations between these two distinguished men from an agreeable acquaintance into an intimate friendship. Unlike as they were intellectually, they had many things in common,—the same love of country, the same opinions on the impending political crisis, and the same wide acquaintance with and enthusiasm for literature and scholarship.

Mr. Choate's classical acquirements, and even his literary

accomplishments, have been questioned since his death, but they are proved by the best testimony. Mr. Everett said of him, that "he did not think it the part either of wisdom or good taste to leave behind him, at school or at college, the noble languages of the great people of antiquity; but he continued through life to read the Greek and Roman classics. He was also familiar with the whole range of English literature; and he had a respectable acquaintance with the standard French authors." That accomplished scholar, Mr. G. P. Marsh (who was his contemporary at Dartmouth College), also says: "Mr. Choate read Greek and Latin with facility and pleasure, and had a fair acquaintance with the literature of more than one Continental nation." We have heard a competent living scholar, too, speak in terms of high commendation of his translations from Thucydides and the Annals of Tacitus, books seldom, if ever, read in those days at American colleges.¹ The great orators of ancient and modern times were of course eagerly studied by him. Cicero and Burke were his especial favorites, and he was always ready to take up the cudgels in their defence against their detractors. Of contemporary authors, Wordsworth and Coleridge, whom he studied before it was the fashion to read or admire them, held a warm place in his heart; but above all others, Sir Walter Scott, whom he eloquently defended against the envious (or at least dyspeptic) disparagement of Carlyle.

Mr. Choate remained in practice to the last. His personal friends with pain saw him, when he needed rest and retirement, still obliged to labor at the bar. Mr. Everett, after his death, alluded most feelingly to this: —

"Commanding from an early period a valuable clientage, and rising rapidly to the summit of his profession and to the best practice in the courts of Massachusetts and in the Supreme Court of the United States, with no expensive tastes or habits, and a manner of life highly

¹ Mr. Parker tells a story of Choate's having insisted, in a conversation between them, during a trial in court, that the penult of *Neptunus* was short. Mr. Dana says he never made a false quantity. Be this as it may, it is inconceivable that a man with such a knowledge of Latin as he unquestionably had, and who studied it so closely that he acquired the Continental pronunciation of it late in life, could have been guilty of a blunder unworthy of a Freshman; and it is not uncharitable to believe that, by lapse of memory, Mr. Parker unwittingly transposed the part of each in the conversation, and that it was he, and not Mr. Choate, who insisted on the pronunciation of *Neptūnus*. Mr. Parker calls this episode in court, "airing the classics." They certainly needed it.

unostentatious and simple, advancing years overtook him with slender provision for their decline. He reaped little but fame, where he ought to have reaped both fame and fortune. A career which in England would have been crowned with affluence, and probably with distinguished rank and office, found him at sixty chained to the treadmill of laborious practice. . . . He assumed the racking anxieties and feverish excitements of his clients. From the courts, where he argued the causes intrusted to him, with all the energy of his intellect, rousing into corresponding action an overtasked nervous system, these cares and anxieties followed him to the weariness of his midnight vigils and the unrest of his sleepless pillow."

Another warm friend and admirer,—an accomplished lawyer and jurist,—who held a seat on the Supreme Court during the last six years of Mr. Choate's life, has spoken in the same strain:—

"Mr. Choate was, at the bar or in his own library, the most interesting man it has been my privilege to know; yet, during the last six years of his life (and it was during those years I saw him most frequently) I never heard him, even in the most brilliant of his efforts, without a feeling of sadness. He not only worked too much, but he had no just economy of labor. He did a thousand things which men of narrow capacity might have done as well or well enough. He expended upon his work a vast amount of superfluous strength. . . . If he had tried half as many cases, worked half as many hours, he would have been a yet greater man, and his life might have been spared to the courts of which he was the pride and ornament; nay more, those large and generous powers might have been used upon a broader theatre and for nobler and more enduring service."¹

He at last began to feel this terrible strain, and earnestly wished for some relief.² Finally, it broke him down. Several times heavy causes in which he was engaged had to be postponed in consequence of his more frequent attacks of illness; and in the spring of 1859 his condition became alarming. The last time he appeared in the court in banc was in the cases of *Fitchburg Railroad v. Gage* and *Tudor*, argued together on March 29, and reported in the twelfth of Gray. Afterwards he began a will case at the *nisi prius* sittings at

¹ Speeches of B. F. Thomas, p. 123.

² Mr. Parker says that he would have accepted a foreign mission, if offered by Mr. Buchanan, to gain some respite from the labors which were killing him. We doubt whether, under all the circumstances, he would have thought it becoming in him to accept office from that administration.

Salem, the scene of his earliest triumphs, but had to break it off, and the courts saw him no more. It was hoped that a foreign voyage might help to restore his health, and he sailed, with his son, for England on June 29, intending to pass the rest of the summer in the Isle of Wight; but he became so much worse that he had to be put ashore at Halifax, where he died, somewhat suddenly, on the 13th of July, in the sixtieth year of his age. His death made a great impression in Boston, and for the time the voices of detraction, with one or two of the usual exceptions, were hushed. Besides other notices of his death, the unusual honor of a great meeting in Faneuil Hall was accorded to his memory, held at noon on July 22 (the day before the funeral), when the Mayor presided, and eloquent speeches were made by Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Chandler, and Mr. Everett.

Mr. Choate was considerably above the medium height, and well though rather sparsely built. His pale, deeply furrowed intellectual face and large melancholy dark eyes, set off as it were by a great head of curly black hair, made him one of the most striking-looking men in Boston, and drew toward him, wherever he was, universal attention. He was of a most affectionate disposition, warmly attached to his family and friends, and deeply beloved by them in return. From his boyhood he had been distinguished for the sweetness of his disposition. His temper was seldom if ever ruffled; and this, with his charming manners, made his legal brethren, especially the younger men, devoted to him. His bearing in court was a model of courtesy, amiability, and high breeding, and he bore with marvellous good nature rude remarks from the bench or from opposing lawyers, sometimes in silence, but more frequently answering by a quick witty retort, which left him the victor; or, if the rudeness emanated from the judge, and decorum forbade his replying, making in a lower tone, for the benefit of his brethren, some sarcastic comment, which convulsed the bar with merriment. He was remarkably free from vanity; but he loved appreciation, and was evidently pleased when he observed, as he often must have done, how the very young men, and especially the law students, watched his every motion with eyes of ardent admiration. No member of a profession remarkably free from jealousy had less of it than he; no man was more generous in his appreciation and praise of his juniors and his opponents.

His wit and humor were of the most exquisite kind, but so delicate and so dependent upon the circumstances which called them forth that his sayings always lost much of their aroma in repetition. "His wit," said Mr. Dana, "did not raise an uproarious laugh, but created an inward and home-felt delight, and took up its abode in your memory. The casual word, the unexpected answer at the corner of the street, the remark whispered over the back of the chair while the docket was calling, you repeated to the next man you met, and he to the next, and in a few days it became the anecdote of the town." A droll extravagance of statement, sometimes satirical and sometimes only mirthful, was one of his most amusing characteristics. We shall not attempt to quote any of the numerous stories and *ana* and quaint sayings connected with his name. They are to be found in the books we have cited at the beginning of this memoir, and are also told more or less inaccurately (generally the former), in innumerable magazine articles and books of legal anecdotes.¹

Choate was the greatest of American advocates. In some of the requisite qualities for trying and arguing causes, others have surpassed him; but no other combined so many of these to an equal degree of excellence, — great and ready knowledge of law, great quickness of apprehension, great legal acumen, great logical powers, great mastery of facts, great familiarity with human nature, great sagacity in the conduct of a case, great skill in examining witnesses; and all this adorned by a wide and varied scholarship and a splendid eloquence. Pinkney equalled him perhaps in eloquence; he and Binney and Curtis may have surpassed him in arguing causes to the court, but they were very inferior to him before juries. Mason more nearly rivals him and perhaps won more verdicts, but wanted his literature, his refinement, and his eloquence, and was unequal to him in argument. Webster, great on great occasions which called forth his powers, may, as Mr. Hillard said, be

¹ Even so experienced a literary man as Mr. E. P. Whipple makes a mistake in relating one by which he entirely destroys the point of the story. Mr. Choate, referring to Mr. Justice Story's habit of summing up to juries most vigorously in behalf of the one party or the other, said, with humorous exaggeration: "He never delivered a *charge to a jury* in which he did not argue the case better than the counsel on either side, and for which he might not have been impeached." Mr. Whipple makes him say, "Never delivered a *judgment*," etc., which is nonsense.

regarded rather as "a great man practising law" than as "a great lawyer." Some of these eminent men surpassed Choate in professional learning, but he always had a supply of law fully adequate to his wants. At a dinner-party in Washington—we believe, during Mr. Choate's lifetime—Judge Curtis was asked if he regarded him as a learned lawyer, and replied emphatically, "I have very frequently been Mr. Choate's junior, I have very frequently been opposed to him, and I have presided in court when he has tried and argued cases, and I never knew the time when he did not have law enough for the occasion. Such a man I call a learned lawyer";¹ and he was right, when we consider the variety of Choate's practice,—in banc, at *nisi prius*, in common law, in equity, in admiralty and in criminal law,—and what a wide and varied acquaintance with law he must have had to justify such praise. In all the rules of practice and of evidence his knowledge was unrivalled.²

Judge Sprague, one of the ablest and most experienced lawyers and judges in New England, said of him, that in examining and cross-examining a witness, he had never seen his equal. Nothing could exceed the courtesy with which he usually treated one, believing that even a hostile witness was more manageable if kept in good humor. Generally he cross-examined very briefly, and he had great contempt for that style of cross-examination which Sir James Scarlett called "repeating over every question put in chief in a very angry tone." Nor did he approve of browbeating a witness. "Never treat a witness," he once said, "as if he were lying, unless you feel sure that he is lying"; and he acted on this maxim. At times, however, when witnesses were perjuring themselves, he could cross-examine with great severity, and they seldom escaped exposure at his hands.

He managed a female witness with great dexterity. His genuine deference of manner, his melodious voice, his sweet, winning smile, made her his friend, and, if she did not aid him in her testimony, it was not her fault. We heard him once say, in closing her examination, to a young woman, who was

¹ This anecdote was told to the writer by the late Mr. Justice Swayne.

² His favorite text-book is said to have been Phillipps on Evidence, with Cowen and Hill's notes,—an almost inexhaustible mine of law for those who had the ability to explore it, but which to many experienced lawyers was as bewildering as Bradshaw's Railway Guide is to a school girl.

testifying to occurrences some years past, "Miss ———, it pains me exceedingly to have to put such a question to a lady, but my professional duty requires of me that I should ask you your age"; and she told him with perfect good-nature. Of women as witnesses generally, he once said, "with humorous solemnity," to a young lawyer who was about to try a case where a great many women had been summoned as witnesses, "Let me give you my dying advice, — never cross-examine a woman. It is of no use. They cannot disintegrate the story they have once told; they cannot eliminate the part that is for you from that which is against you. They can neither combine, nor shade, nor qualify. They go for the whole thing; and the moment you begin to cross-examine one of them, instead of being bitten by a single rattlesnake, you are bitten by a whole barrel full. I never, except in a case absolutely desperate, dare to cross-examine a woman."¹

His oratorical powers were carefully cultivated from the time he was in college, but they were to a great extent born with him, — the marvellous voice, the fluency of speech, the gift of language, the dialectic skill, the brilliant fancy, the rich imagination. "I never met," says Mr. Marsh, "any other man with such a knowledge and command of all the resources of English as had Mr. Choate, and he had the rare gift of using words so that each made those with which it was connected bring out the best, or at least some special meaning. He told me that he habitually read the dictionary, and in speaking of his translation of a part of Thucydides and other classics, he said he undertook the work for the sake of the English, not the Greek."² This wonderful mastery of words often (to plagiarize from Sydney Smith) made him an instrument of forensic oppression. He used it to excess, and sometimes wearied dull, prosaic jurors and overworked judges; and he caused many people to imagine that he was a mere rhetorician, whereas Mr. Dana said, on his death, that "he was the greatest master of logic we had among us." His rhetoric was sometimes extravagant, and at all times dangerous for imitation. His speeches to juries and on the platform, and even to the court, were delivered with great vehemence of gesture and often loudness of voice. They were always carefully prepared, and

¹ Letter of the Hon. E. B. Gillett, in Neilson's "Memories," pp. 337, 338.

² Ibid. p. 379.

he usually had a large pile of manuscript before him, although he seldom referred to it. Like Mr. Gladstone's, they sounded better than they read. The orator's commanding presence, his expressive action and powerful delivery, enabled the auditor to follow with ease the long balanced periods, which almost take one's breath away when read, and carried off the somewhat superabundant ornament and occasional profusion of illustration.

All those who were Choate's competitors at the bar are gone; the survivors of those who were associated with or against him as junior counsel are few in number and every year are becoming fewer, and before many years the last of those who even heard him will have passed away; and with them his memory will gradually fade. We must sorrowfully apply to him the pathetic language of Sir John Taylor Coleridge concerning Sir William Follett, that "neither as a lawyer nor a legislator has he left any lasting monument behind him of his great abilities; the gainful business of the day swallowed him up. Like 'a well-graced actor,' the admired one of his day, he lives only in the recollection of one fleeting generation who saw him. We have a distinct idea of him, as our fathers had of Garrick; henceforward a mere tradition of him will remain,—tradition becoming every year more uncertain, obscure, indiscriminate."

Mr. Choate's great professional, literary, and political eminence was early recognized by colleges and learned societies. Yale conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1844, Harvard and Dartmouth in 1845, and Amherst in 1848. He was elected a member of the Historical Society, June 25, 1835, but was too busy often to attend its meetings. He was also a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library since the June meeting was also read.

In the absence of the Cabinet-Keeper, the Librarian said that the Society had received from the family of the late George Ticknor a cast of Milmore's bust of Mr. Ticknor.

Rev. Henry F. Jenks was appointed to write a memoir of the late Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige for publication in the Proceedings.

The Hon. Henry L. Pierce was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. William B. Weedon, of Providence, Rhode Island, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR read the following paper: —

The Cabot Controversies.

With our present knowledge of the adventures by sea of the Normans and Bretons, or of the Biscayans and Basques, it cannot be proved that in the later years of the fifteenth century, any or all of them caught fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and so equalled on the American coast the hardihood of their known pursuit of whale, at that time, in the Icelandic seas. It needs only to be shown that these sea-going folks accomplished similar exploits in search of cod, to make it probable that before the days of John Cabot such people had become acquainted with the northeastern shores of America. We have no documentary evidence that the Bretons, for instance, were on the Newfoundland coast before 1504; but there is nothing improbable in the supposition that much earlier visits were made by courageous mariners. In those times as well as later, the Church enforced observance of a large number of days on which fish was the permitted food.



On other days in winter a meat diet was little known among the common people. Seamen accordingly took great risks in distant seas to obtain fish for salting.

There is a chance that some dated manuscript or chart may yet be discovered which shall establish the certainty of such Biscayan, or perhaps Norman visits. In the seventeenth century Spain actually rested her right to fish on these shores in the frequenting of them by Basque fishermen before the Cabot discoveries, though it seems to have been near the middle of the sixteenth century before the Spaniards were again in any numbers in these waters.¹

In Peter Martyr's account of the early English voyages, it is said that Cabot found the word *Baccalaos* used on this coast, or, at least, that is one interpretation of his Latin. As this term was one common on the Biscayan shores for stock-fish or cod, it might be deemed conclusive evidence of a previous acquaintance by the Basques with this coast, if Martyr's language would bear such an interpretation in the opinion of all scholars; but it will not, though Harrisson seems to think that the expression was used by the natives of the coast, and not by the common people of Biscay, which is the point in dispute. Judge Prowse thinks that the English began to fish on the coast in 1498, the Portuguese in 1501, and the French in 1504.

Owing to the lack of explicit and published documentary evidence, events which were later proved to mark two separate voyages of the Cabots were so confused in the minds of chroniclers, that for more than three hundred years the voyage of discovery in 1497, followed up the next year by one for possible colonization, were reckoned as one, as has been unaccountably done in a recent "History of the New World, called America," by E. J. Payne. The confusion was long ago dispelled, when Richard Biddle published his "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot" in 1831, and therein solved what was at that time the chief riddle of the Cabot story. The narrative of these voyages is, however, still left singularly studded with mooted points, and the controversy over them has served to keep alive our interest in the exploits of these English pioneers in American discovery. We are now to pass in review these further controverted questions.

¹ Prowse's *Newfoundland*, p. 42.

Charles Deane represents that John Cabot was born in Genoa, and was naturalized in Venice. This is the view of HARRISSE, who goes critically into the evidence. TARDUCCI, who had elaborately discussed the point in the "*Revista Storica italiana*" in 1892, repeated his argument for Venice as the birthplace in his later book on the Cabots. Bullo, in a monograph, contends with little force for Chioggia. The opinions of Deane and HARRISSE are the best sustained.

The controversy over the date of the voyage of discovery yields more easily to demonstration. Hakluyt, in his preliminary single volume, published in 1589, had cited one of the legends of the Cabot mappemonde (1544), which gave the date as 1494. On the strength of this, before the map itself had been brought to the notice of modern scholars, and notwithstanding Hakluyt later adopted the date 1497, other writers, like Harris and Pinkerton, had accepted the date of 1494, and it has been agreed to in our day by D'Avezac and Tarducci. When Hakluyt, in 1600, made the change to 1497, some years after Lok in his map had given that date, he set a fashion which became more prevalent; and it was adopted by Biddle as the only possible date, in view of the fact that the royal license for the voyage was issued in March, 1495-6.

In 1848 the discovery of the only copy of the Cabot map which has been found, and which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, showed that Hakluyt, in copying the legend in 1589, had done so correctly; for the date 1494 was plainly given upon the map. R. H. Major, of the British Museum map department, endeavored to account for the date 1494 by supposing that in the printer's copy of the legends, the Roman figures VII had been read IIII, because the inclining strokes of the V were not brought together at the bottom. Cumulative evidence, as well as that of the patent, has made it certain to the large majority of investigators that 1497 is the exact date. A conclusive document in support of this date, as well as in proof of the unquestionable agency of the elder Cabot, as against his son's, in the discovery of that year, was found some years ago in the archives at Milan. It is a letter of Raimondo de Soncino, which was originally published in 1865, reprinted by Desimoni in 1881, and was first given in English by Deane in 1883, and later, in

another version, by Prowse in 1895. The Cabot map gave the particular date as June 24. This has generally been accepted as correct; but HARRISSE has recently argued that it is an impossible date, inasmuch as ten or fourteen days more would have been necessary to reach the coast from the time of leaving England.

The scene of the landfall is still in dispute, and is likely to remain so. There was no documentary evidence on the point, except inferentially, till 1843, when the Cabot map was discovered. It was then found that the expression *Prima tierra vista* was engraved across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, beginning at a point near the northern extremity of Cape Breton Island. It was of course a question whether this meant that the island, as a whole, was the land first seen, or that this particular northern cape of the island was intended. That it conveyed this latter exactness of description is the opinion of Deane, Bourinot, and others; while S. E. Dawson, in a paper published by the Royal Society of Canada, thinks that the island as a whole was intended, and that the true landfall was the proper Cape Breton, at the southeast corner of the island. With this view he contends for the small island, Scatari, lying seaward of that point, as the island of St. John discovered on "the same day." Those who favor the North Cape point to Prince Edward's Island as the attendant island. Dawson's view is in a measure sustained by the Portuguese Portolano, usually dated from 1514 to 1520. Prowse, in dismissing Dawson's argument, depends upon what is called the "liturgical test" of early explorations, during which navigators named landmarks after saints' days, the order of such days in the calendar being held to determine their course and speed. He finds that this test as applied to Cosa's coast names, supposed to mark Cabot's progress, conflicts with Dawson's theory.

The eastern coast of Newfoundland has been accepted as the landfall by Howley and others. Howley indicates the particular locality as being within the southeastern peninsula, or the old colony of Avalon, as granted later to Lord Baltimore. Prowse, doubting the original character of the Cabot map, contends that there is no positive testimony as to the precise spot of the landfall, and thinks it may have been on the Labrador or Newfoundland outer coast, probably at Cape

Bonavista on the latter, where John Mason, in his map of Newfoundland (1616?), places the legend, "First found by Cabot." This map is reproduced from Vaughan's "Golden Fleece" (1625) in Winsor's "America," vol. viii., and in Prowse's Newfoundland, p. 106.

An early Italian sojourner in the southern parts of North America, Galvano, died in 1557, and left behind an account of the New World, which was later printed, and a translation of it has been published by the Hakluyt Society. In this he speaks of Cabot seeing land in latitude 45° north, which so closely conforms to the testimony of the Cabot map that Deane suspects Galvano to have known that cartographical record.

When Biddle wrote, there was little question among scholars that Cabot's landfall had been made on the Labrador coast. This view seemed to be supported by the reported conversation of Sebastian Cabot, and by the evidence of Thorne, and by the map of Juan de la Cosa, who had his knowledge probably from English sources. The official Spanish map of Ribero in 1529 bears a legend that the "English from Bristol" discovered the Labrador coast. Molineaux's map (1600) also bore a Cabot legend on the same shore. Biddle, in his argument, was not compelled to confront the testimony of the Cabot map, for it had not then been found. Harris, who writes long after that development, still contends for the Labrador theory, and shoves aside the evidence of the map. This he does in the belief that at this time (1544) France, through Cartier's exploration, was establishing claims about the St. Lawrence gulf to the prejudice of England, and that Cabot, now in England, in order to rehabilitate the English counter claim, falsified the record, and inserted the inscription in a way to support the right of England to the territory adjacent to the gulf. It is hardly safe to hold that either of these contestants has established his theory beyond dispute.

In the short interval between the landfall and August, when the return voyage was completed, there was not time for any extended exploration, and Cabot's course after sighting land has been equally in dispute. Some contend that he made the circuit of the gulf, and passed out by the straits of Belle Isle. At all events it has been asserted that, wherever he may have struck the land, Cabot practically pre-empted for England the continent of North America, by virtue of having seen it at the

north before any one saw it at the south. This belief is better vouched for than any theory which has been developed, by Varnhagen originally, and later by Fiske and Boyd Thacher, to rehabilitate the claim of Vesputius to priority. If Cabot did not strike the Labrador coast, but rather the Newfoundland or Cape Breton shores, it may be open to doubt if he saw on his first voyage the mainland at all; and Markham contends that he did not. That Cabot supposed he saw it, thinking it doubtless Asia, seems apparent from the language of the second patent under which the voyage of 1498 was conducted. John Cabot is credited in this instrument with having seen in his earlier voyages both "land *and* isle." It is a quibble to dispute the Cabot claim to priority on any technical distinction between the mainland and any adjacent island.

Whatever claim England later pressed for the possession of North America rested on what John Cabot now saw in 1497, when he took possession for the English crown. Still, after the voyage of the next year was accomplished, England for many years, notwithstanding sundry voyages for trade and observation, made no attempt to follow up her rights by occupancy. It has been conjectured that this apathy was owing, in part at least, to the unwillingness of Wolsey, who was ambitious of the papal chair, to displease the Emperor. Meanwhile, however, English fishermen seem to have frequented the coast. D. W. Prowse, in his "History of Newfoundland" (1895) has pointed out how the English cod fishery on the Newfoundland banks, following upon the Cabots' discoveries, influenced the growth of the maritime supremacy of England. "The Newfoundland fishery," said Raleigh, "was the mainstay and support of the western countries," whence sprang the power that struck the Armada. Judge Prowse aims to show that this fishing-trade, up to 1630, was the greatest business enterprise in America, with intimate connection at times with New England and Virginia, and that the frequenting of Spanish fishermen on the coast practically ceased after the defeat of the Armada. Unfortunately, the fishery and trading voyages of the sixteenth century enter very little, or not at all, into the chronicles of discovery; and Judge Prowse, in fortifying his belief of the paramount authority of the English in the Newfoundland regions during the first half of that century, is obliged to depend on chance

references in contemporary documents, or inferentially on customs long established when referred to in later papers.

The act of the 33d year of Henry VIII., relative in part to fishing on the Newfoundland coast, is said to have been the first English Act of Parliament relative to the New World.

After it came to be generally understood that the New World was a distinct continent, there grew up some jealousy in England of the success which other European people had had in colonization beyond the Atlantic. At this time Eden, a distinguished student of the new discoveries, began to exert some influence on the maritime spirit of England. In 1553 he published a translation from Sebastian Münster, which he called "A Treatise of the Newe India," and two years later (1555) he printed a version from Peter Martyr, which he styled "Decades of the Newe Worlde." This account by Martyr, dated in 1516, is the earliest which we have of the printed narratives of Cabot's voyages, and Martyr doubtless obtained the details from Sebastian Cabot, who is known to have been his friend. In like manner, what Ramusio tells us was derived from personal interviews of a similar character. When Eden wrote, Sebastian Cabot, an old man, was still alive in England, and the chronicler's views may be supposed to have been to some extent influenced by the aged mariner's. These opinions of Eden were that it behooved his countrymen, under the warrant of the Cabot discoveries, not to delay longer in taking possession of the New World from Baccalaos to Florida, — this latter region having been coasted by Cabot, as Ramusio represented, in his lack of discrimination between the two voyages.

Harrissee found on the reverse of a manuscript map by Dr. Dee, preserved in the British Museum and dated 1580, a similar plea for English activity. Two years later (1582) Hakluyt printed his little "Divers Voyages." He here noted for the first time the patent of March, 1495-6, to John Cabot and his three sons, and formulated a claim by virtue of the discoveries under that instrument to a stretch of the American coast from 67° in the north to Florida. The book also contained Michael Lok's map of 1582, wherein a delineation of Cape Breton bore the legend, "J. Cabot, 1497." This is the earliest instance of the correct date in a printed document,

and it offers beside a clear recognition of John Cabot's agency in the discovery. A similar plea, when Hakluyt was trying to induce Queen Elizabeth to countenance Sir Walter Raleigh's American projects, was again entered by that friend of discovery in 1584 in his "Westerne Planting," a treatise which remained in manuscript till 1877, when the Maine Historical Society published it under the editing of Dr. Wood and Dr. Deane. It has since been included in the Edinburgh edition of Hakluyt.

We have already seen that Hakluyt's larger volume of 1589 cited the evidence of the Cabot map to the date of 1494, as that of the discovery. That volume reproduced some portions of Hakluyt's little collection of 1582, and gathered together for the English reader the scattered testimonies of Martyr, Ramusio, Gomara, and the lesser authorities. A more extended grouping of such material appeared finally in the third volume of Hakluyt's greater work, published in 1600. He printed all these accounts just as he found them, with all their glaring inconsistencies, and made no attempts to reconcile them.

Whether the father John Cabot was accompanied by his son Sebastian in this voyage of 1497, is still in dispute. Harris denies the presence of the son. So does Captain Duro, of the Spanish navy, in a paper in the "*España Moderna*." Judge Prowse finds no record to show that any of John Cabot's sons accompanied him, and contends that the names of Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus Cabot were inserted in the patent "to extend the duration of the charter to the full extent of their young lives"; but in this he is unmindful of the fact that the patent itself continues the rights which it conveyed to the heirs of Cabot. The English Drapers Company, in 1521, in an address to the king, said that Sebastian "was never in that land himself," while "he makes report of many things as he hath heard his father and other men speak in times past." Deane, on the other hand, thinks it almost certain that Sebastian was on the ship. Sebastian's own testimony, if it be accepted, seems to leave no doubt that he was his father's companion. The legends on the map of 1544 record for the first time the joint action of John and Sebastian Cabot in this initial voyage. The same conjunction of effort is implied in an inscription on a well-known portrait

of Sebastian Cabot, which was painted while he was in England, and, finally coming into Biddle's possession, was burned later in his house in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Copies, which had been made of it, are preserved in the historical societies of Massachusetts and New York. It has been often engraved.

✓ Dr. Deane speaks of Sebastian Cabot as "the Sphinx of American history." It seems to be to most minds certain, trusting his own testimony, that Sebastian was on the second voyage in 1498; but even this is denied by HARRISSE, who is not inclined to accept any testimony of the younger Cabot not confirmed by other evidence.

There is a dispute over his birthplace more perplexing than that which concerns his father's nativity. Sebastian told Eden that he was born in Bristol, England, whither his father had come not long before. On the other hand, he assured Contarini that he was a native of Venice,—a statement now accepted by Deane, Tarducci, and most of the other authorities.

The character of Sebastian Cabot may be held, from the contradictions already indicated, to be easily open to dispute. Biddle and some later biographers like Nichols of Bristol have given him something like heroic attributes. Impartial critics, possessed of the later developments of research, can but expose Sebastian's conflicting statements; yet it is fair to remember that these diversities are not drawn from anything that he has written, but from what others have reported him as saying. ✓ His shuffling conduct, when he tried to be false to his obligations, and sell maritime secrets to the Republic of Venice, may, perhaps, rest on sufficient evidence, since it is contained in a letter of Contarini, from the Milan Archives, and in the Calendars of the Venetian Archives (1551), as published by the English Government. HARRISSE, particularly in his "Discovery of North America," and in his "John Cabot and Sebastian, his Son," denounces Sebastian Cabot as a liar and an intriguer; but this critic is over anxious sometimes to impale his victim. HARRISSE's antagonist, the Spaniard Duro, speaks of Sebastian's moral dishonesty. He charges him likewise with incapacity, and in scientific attainments and seamanship HARRISSE is inclined to discredit him. It is difficult, however, to believe that administrative incompetency could have characterized very greatly a man who was sought, both

by England and Spain, to take the management of their maritime affairs. That his mind was fertile in resources, and that he exercised in matters of detail a superior grasp, seems evident. As a student of phenomena, he was, if not the first, a leading agent to suspect that by observing the variation of the needle a law could be adduced for determining longitude; and on his death-bed he talked of it as a secret of the seaman's art. He naturally carried his expectations too far, since first glimpses of nature's laws are likely to incline the imaginative mind to excess of belief; but the continued publication to-day of magnetic charts, and the occasional use of them in navigation, show that Cabot's insight was clear.

His manuscript maps are lost; but HARRISSE records in his "Discovery of North America," and in his English book on "John Cabot," etc., various mentions of them by his contemporaries. His drafts were doubtless used by Juan de la Cosa in delineating the Asiatic coast in the map of 1500, now preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Madrid. This earliest delineation of the American regions was lost sight of till Humboldt drew attention to it, and nothing of an earlier date, showing the new world, has ever been found. The Spanish Government has lately reproduced it in full size, and it has been engraved by Jomard and many others, particularly its American parts. There is good reason to believe that Cabot's charts were used for the regions of the northeast by Ruysch, who produced the earliest engraved map, showing the new discoveries, which appeared in the Ptolemy of 1586, and has been reproduced by Winsor, Nordenskiöld, Prowse, and many others. Prowse,¹ who also despises Sebastian Cabot, thinks that in the poor estate of his old age he may have sold his maps to Spain, and that their disappearance may have been occasioned by the jealousy of Spain in keeping secret maps of the New World, — a habit charged upon the Spanish Hydrographical Office of that time, particularly by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. HARRISSE seems inclined to doubt this habit in cases which tell against his theories, though he acknowledges that the Pilot Major was not in the early years permitted to sell maps, and shows how Sebastian Cabot, while in that office, prevented others from doing the same. The engraved map of 1544, usually cited as the Cabot mappemonde, and now pre-

¹ Newfoundland, p. 30.

served in the only copy known, in the great library at Paris, has been photographed, full-size, for some of the principal American historical libraries, and has been often reproduced on a smaller scale in the great fac-simile atlases and elsewhere. There is some reason to believe that other editions or issues of it may have been produced, since the date 1549 is assigned to it, in the citation of some of its legends made by Chytræus about 1565. These inscriptions are further enigmas; for while Sebastian Cabot must necessarily have been the source from which some of the statements are drawn, there are parts of the legends which it is impossible to believe represent such knowledge as he must be supposed to have had. Ortelius, the earliest maker of atlases, possessed, in 1570, a copy of the map; but he throws no light upon it. These legends are not all a part of the map itself, but most of them are printed on separate sheets of paper and pasted on its margin. They interlink with the body of the map in such a way, however, as to make it apparent that they belong to the publication. They are in Latin and Spanish, nearly matching. A manuscript copy of them in the hand of a learned Spaniard, Dr. Grajales, was found by Harrissee in the Royal Library at Madrid, and led that critic to think that Cabot may have furnished the data, and Grajales have worked up the text; but there does not seem to be evidence that Grajales may not have copied them from another copy or from the printed sheets. The inscriptions were never in their completeness laid before scholars in print, till they were copied for Dr. Deane from the map. After his death the text with an English translation, made under his direction, was printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in February, 1891. Some of them are printed by Harrissee in his English book on Cabot. The same inscriptions from the original type, and printed in a brochure, turned up in 1895, for the first time, in an auction sale of the library of the Chateau de Lobris, in Silesia, and was brought to this country for a dealer in New York. The brochure furnishes a title — "*Declaratio Chartæ Novæ Navigatoriæ Domini Almirantis*" — not before known. The inscriptions veil the fact that there were separate voyages of discovery and of attempted colonization.

The voyage of 1498, conducted under the license granted



February 8, 1497-8, began in the following May and continued till the autumn or early winter. Our knowledge of its progress depends unfortunately and largely on what Sebastian Cabot is reported to have said of his experiences in these years; but we are forced to eliminate from his narrative what we must otherwise determine could only have belonged to events of the earlier voyage. We have, in addition, what is here and there recorded in various documentary sources. These last authorities have been rendered accessible in what has been collected in the works of Biddle, Harris, Deane, Tarducci, Pezzi, and Desimoni; and in the calendars of the Venetian and Spanish documents, published by the Master of the Rolls, in London. An enumeration of the documentary sources of the two Cabot voyages, as well as indications of the places wherein they can be found, constitute a "Syllabus" at the end of Harris's latest book on "John Cabot and Sebastian, his Son."

There is another conflict of testimony as to the high latitude reached by Cabot on this second voyage. Some accounts say that it was 55°, and others about 67°, but it is possible that the larger figures refer to a later voyage, yet to be mentioned as among the possibilities. On his southern course he is said to have gone down to 36°, or, as again expressed, to the latitude of Gibraltar. That Ojeda in 1501 was ordered by Spain to the Florida coast to plant symbols of the Spanish rights thereto, and to bar out the English, is thought to have been occasioned by English visitors to that region, who, in the opinion of some, must necessarily have been Cabot and his companions on this voyage of 1498.

There are two incidents in Sebastian Cabot's career which have been thought to show that he could never have been so far south along this Atlantic coast. If he had, and had thereby established any rights for England, it is thought that he would not have held his tongue in 1524, when he was at the Congress of Badajoz and the claim of Spain to this coast was assumed. Again in 1585 he was present at the trial instituted by the Columbus heirs, and he there testified that he did not know there was a continuous coast from Bacalaos to Florida, which, with the experience assigned to him on this voyage, would have been perjury. Too much should not be made of these variances, however, since Sebastian Cabot at both these

dates was a paid officer of Spain, and could hardly be expected to damage the interests of his Spanish masters or his own.

That Sebastian Cabot made a later voyage to the north Atlantic coast is likewise a matter of dispute. Eden in his "Treatise of the Newe India" (1553), while Cabot was living in England, mentions such a voyage as having occurred in 1516. Hakluyt later, referring to it, makes the voyage, however, take a direction towards the West Indies. Biddle found its destination in the Arctic regions, and says that Cabot was accompanied by Pert, and that the two explorers reached the latitude of $67^{\circ} 30'$ —which is the extreme altitude of his northern exploration, as professed by Cabot himself to Ramusio. Deane and Kohl are inclined to discredit the voyage altogether; but Brevoort, in a communication to Deane, suspects it may have taken place, but in 1508, and not in 1516. HARRISSE does not credit this voyage, nor the alleged earlier one of 1503, when Sebastian is said to have brought some native Americans to England.

A new intelligence as regards the entire Cabot story was shed upon it in 1831, when Richard Biddle printed his "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot." It was he, as has been shown, who separated the details of the two voyages. He printed the license for a voyage of discovery in full for the first time. He offered the best exposition of these early maritime explorations which had been made up to that time. The lesser biographies of Hayward (in Sparks's "American Biography") and of Nichols of Bristol, owe everything to Biddle.

The chapter which Charles Deane gave to the subject in the third volume of the "Narrative and Critical History of America" constitutes a cautious and thorough examination of all the evidence, extended or brief, worthy of consideration; and he surveys it in a chronological way. A study of Dr. Deane's treatment is peculiarly indicative of the hazards to which historical statements are subjected during transmission from one writer to another, under the influence of tradition, chance knowledge, inference, and conjecture.

HARRISSE's full knowledge, with an unconscious wavering from his often professed documentary standard, is shown in his "Jean et Sébastien Cabot" (1882), when he examines the attendant cartography and bibliography, and enriches his text with documentary proofs. He also arranges the chronology of

later voyages down to the middle of the sixteenth century. What he says of the Cabots in his "Discovery of North America" (1892) puts in English what he had before displayed in French, and adds something in a supplemental way. He gave a later word in his "Sébastien Cabot, Navigateur Venétien," which was printed in the "Revue de Géographie," January, 1895. He rearranged and amplified all the discussions on mooted points, and cited the evidences thereupon with much skill in his "John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian his Son" (London, 1896).

Beside the little treatise of Cornelio Desimoni, the Italians have given us an extended survey in the work of Tarducci, published at Venice in 1892. In his treatment he avails himself of what his predecessors had done up to that time; but he seems ignorant of the labors of Dr. Deane. An English translation by H. F. Brownson was published at Detroit in 1893, but the translator failed to rectify palpable errors of his original. Tarducci shows industry; but his book has some glaring defects, and he stubbornly adheres to exploded theories.

The lesser authorities who have aimed in what they have produced to keep abreast of the progress of knowledge on the subject are the following: Kohl, in his "Discovery of Maine"; Coote, in the "Dictionary of National Biography"; Bancroft, in the "Centennial" and later editions of his "United States"; Fiske, in his "Discovery of America"; Winsor, in his "Columbus"; Kingsford, in his "History of Canada"; and Prowse, in his "History of Newfoundland."

Mr. BARRETT WENDELL then communicated some remarks suggested by Mr. Brooks Adams's recent work on "The Law of Civilization and Decay," as follows:—

Historical literature—if for the moment one may call literature all published results of faithful historical study—may be divided into three distinct classes. The first consists of carefully verified collections of historical data; and one has only to glance at the Collections of this Society to see what admirable work of this kind has been done in New England. The second consists of narratives which, infusing such data with the vitality of reconstructive imagination, make the

times that are vanished live again. This is the historical literature which learned and vulgar alike recognize and enjoy ; under this head fall almost all the classics of history ; and one has only to read the roll of this Society, during the century and more of its existence, to realize what admirable work of this kind, too, New England has accomplished. The third kind of historical literature is rare ; it consists of those efforts which from time to time powerful minds have made to wrest from narratives and from data alike the secrets which underlie them. This was the kind which Walter Raleigh tried to write ; and no one yet has phrased its ideal better than he : "It is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other ; but the form internal. And though it hath pleased God to reserve the art of reading men's thoughts to himself ; yet as the fruit tells the name of the tree, so do the outward works of men (as far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest. . . . By [history] . . . it is, that we live in the very time when [the world] was created ; we behold how it was governed ; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled ; how kings and kingdoms have flourished and fallen ; and for what virtue and piety God made prosperous, and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto history, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors ; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal ; by the comparison and application of other men's fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings."

In Raleigh's day no sound philosophy of history could be formulated. Data were wanting ; narrative and legend were intermingled in epic confusion. Even a generation ago, when Buckle wrote, the data with which he worked were still so new that, throughout the great fragment which he left us, one feels the simplicity of his error almost as certainly as his power. In our own lifetimes the world has moved fast. Whether it have moved fast enough to make even yet possible any valid work such as Raleigh and Buckle and the rest failed to bring forth, one may still doubt. But with all doubtful reservations



it is hard to deny that there has lately been produced here in New England a book of historical philosophy which so fearlessly and consistently generalizes from the great mass of phenomena with which it deals that one inclines more and more to wonder whether, almost neglected now, it may not by and by take its place as a lasting contribution to human thought.

Of course, no such work can as yet be final. Bacon's philosophy was nowise final, nor Darwin's biology. When understood, however, these have proved so truly stimulating, so vigorously suggestive of how others who came after might finally work, that in admiration of their excellence the world has already almost forgotten their limitations. To claim for any work as yet untested by time a rank which may be named in the same breath with theirs would be foolishly presumptuous. Without presumption, however, one may plainly say that, in all probability, a work still almost fresh from the press is one of two things: either a very notable addition to true philosophy, or else the next most notable thing, — a statement of honest error so faithfully consistent that it is bound to clear the way for final truth to come. Such a work is the book now in mind, — superficially, to be sure, irritating and obscure, but fundamentally full of stimulating suggestion, — Mr. Brooks Adams's "Law of Civilization and Decay."

It is persistently obscure for a very obvious reason. Its fundamental assumption is that human affairs, like all other phenomena, are simply a mode of force, — "that the law of force and energy is of universal application in nature, and that animal life is one of the outlets through which solar energy is dissipated. Starting from this fundamental proposition, the first deduction is, that, as human societies are forms of animal life, these societies must differ among themselves in energy, in proportion as nature has endowed them, more or less abundantly, with energetic material." Clearly this assumption, agreeable or not to one's general habit of thought, is essentially fatalistic, leaving little room, if any, for individual freedom of action among mankind. It is perfectly conceivable, however, and in the conception of this book it is unflinchingly maintained from beginning to end. In setting it forth, at the same time, Mr. Adams had at his disposal only the vehicle of language. From its origin, language has framed itself in accordance with an assumption utterly opposed to

his. An analogy familiar to us all will make his difficulty clear: for some centuries the rotation of the earth has been generally admitted; but language clings, and will always cling, to the terms *sunrise* and *sunset*. By the same token, any writer who to-day would consider human conduct as essentially automatic is forced to express himself in terms which habitually describe it as responsible agency. To escape the innumerable confusions which instantly arise would demand a literary power little short of genius.

Again, even though every danger of obscurity were avoided, a conception so foreign to the complacent habit of common thought, would need, to secure a sympathetic hearing, an aid which in this case is totally lacking. No commonplace of rhetoric is older or more sensible than that which counsels whoever should address an audience not surely at one with him to begin in a manner deliberately conciliatory. A manner less conciliatory than the sturdy bluntness of Mr. Adams can hardly be imagined. On the contrary, as has been said, his literary address is distinctly irritating. Whoever does not instantly agree with him is almost invited to meet his assertions with categorical denial, and done with it.

Take, for example, the cardinal point of his theory, which follows directly upon the passage cited a little while ago: "Thought is one of the manifestations of human energy; and among the earlier and simpler phases of thought, two stand conspicuous, — Fear and Greed: Fear, which, by stimulating the imagination, creates a belief in an invisible world, and ultimately develops a priesthood; and Greed, which dissipates energy in war and trade." To one religiously and devoutly disposed, the effect of that last sentence would probably be such as to drown in wrathful, if temporary, oblivion the fact that Scripture itself proclaims how "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; but fools despise wisdom and instruction." A sturdy man of affairs, meanwhile, would surely be provoked to a righteously indignant declaration that neither he nor his friends are greedy or dissipated. And by this time nobody would be in a mood calmly to remember that, according to Mr. Adams's premises, his book and he himself are mere manifestations of solar energy as essentially, irresponsibly guiltless as a thunderstorm or an eclipse of the moon.



Preposterous, even flippant, such a statement as that must seem to our ordinary habits of mind. Really, however, it is neither. Whatever else we human beings may be, we are certainly animals in many respects similar to other vertebrates. Whatever else animals are, they are natural phenomena, of which the mutual relations are at present understood to be a good deal closer than used to be thought. The nebular hypothesis, or something very like it, is now generally accepted. We believe that we are living on a planet which from gaseous incandescence has cooled to a point where it can support life. We believe, too, that in time it shall cool to a point where life can no longer be supported. We believe, in short, that the earth is passing from such a stage as the telescopes reveal in Jupiter to such a stage as they reveal in the moon. Animal life, then, from beginning to end, is so temporary an intervening phenomena, that, considered in its relation to the lifetime of the planet, it may fairly be regarded as a single fact. Thus regarded, its aspect at any stage of its development may rationally be expected to throw at least suggestive light on its aspect at any other. To understand, accordingly, its more complex aspects, we may well consider its simpler; for, so far as we can now see, the one have almost certainly developed from something which resembled the other. In its lower, primitive forms, animal life, exposed to the full force of the struggle for existence, generally survives under one of two conditions, — either by escaping from dangerous environment, or by becoming itself dangerous, and devouring whatever comes within its reach; the two types which persist are the type which manages not to be eaten, and the type which eats. To attribute something like consciousness to organisms sensitive enough to survive is at least plausible. If we do so, our conclusion is obvious: the consciousness of such animals as survive by escaping destruction must probably be based on a sentiment of terror; the consciousness of such animals as survive by destroying must probably be based on a sentiment of passionate appetite. What Mr. Adams's generalization really means is that these two primitive types of consciousness pervade all sentient nature. In their higher developments their aspect departs from their original aspect as widely as human beings depart from protozoa; but their nature does not essentially change. And human affairs vary and develop, flourish

and decay, in startling accord with the conditions which at one time make dominant the imaginative type of consciousness, which is analogous to primitive terror, and at another the predatory type of consciousness, which is analogous to primitive appetite.

In the earlier stages of any social development, he goes on to say, the former type predominates, finally expressing itself in the priest, the hero, and the artist; in the later stages of such development, the latter type predominates, expressing itself finally in such destructive embodiments of material power as usurers and the like. And all this process he considers throughout as a fixed, immutable law of nature.

The greater part of his book is accordingly given to a broad survey of European history from the days of the Roman Republic to the present time. In a single chapter, bewilderingly compact, he sketches the decay and fall of the Western Empire. Then, in little more than three hundred pages, he proceeds to trace, through the dimness of the Middle Ages, the growing force of the imaginative spirit, which finally expressed itself in the First Crusade; from which epoch he gradually shows the predatory spirit asserting itself more and more potently until our own day, leaving us to discern the striking analogy which constantly displays itself to the bygone history of the Romans. Beyond doubt, he states all this with imprudent lack of qualification. Agree with him or not, you cannot escape a frequent impression that he contemplates fact with the enthusiastic limitations of a sincere doctrinaire. Again and again, too, the baffling conditions of language make him appear to attribute responsibility to persons who, according to his own philosophy, cannot possibly be held responsible. Again and again the aggressive assertiveness of his manner, particularly in those passages which deal with the English Reformation, is repellent at just the moments when rhetorical sensitiveness should have made his address most conciliatory. Whoever is indisposed instantly to agree with him would be more than apt, at a single reading, to put his book aside in high dudgeon.

To put it aside, however, is not finally to dispose of it. The test of such a work is not whether we like it, nor yet whether it be correct in minor detail. What it purports to do is to set forth a theory which shall simplify one's concep-

tion of history. A hundred specific applications of such a theory by its author may err without in the least affecting the final validity of his generalization. The true question, neglecting all else, is whether he can help us systematically to correlate the confused, disjointed bits of knowledge which must constantly vex any reflective mind.

In my opinion, the "Law of Civilization and Decay" will bear this test. After some ten years of lecturing on the history of English literature, I ventured, in a book about Shakspeare, to generalize concerning the development of literature considered as a fine art. "Art, of any kind, in nations, in schools, even in individuals, progresses by a rhythmical law of its own. At certain epochs the arts of expression are lifelessly conventional. Born to these conventions, often feeble and impotent, the nation, the school, or the individual destined to be great will begin, like those who preceded, by simple imitation, differing from the older conventions only in a certain added vigor. By and by the force which we have called creative imagination will develop, with a strange, mysterious strength of its own, seemingly almost inspired. Throbbing with this imaginative impulse, the nation, the school, or the individual artist will begin no longer to imitate, but instead to innovate, with an enthusiasm for the moment as unconscious of limits to come as it is disdainful of the old, conventional limits which it has transcended. After a while the limits to come will slowly define themselves. No creative or imaginative impulse can stray too far. The power of words, of lines and colors, of melody and harmony, is never infinite. If slavish fidelity to conventions be lifeless, utter disregard of conventions tends to the still more fatal end of chaotic, inarticulate confusion. One may break fetter after fetter; but one's feet must still be planted on the earth. One may move with all the freedom which the laws of nature allow; but if one try to soar into air or ether, one is more lost even than if one count one's footsteps. So to nations, to schools, to individuals alike, a growing sense of limitation must come. There are things which may be achieved; there are vastly more things and greater which remain fatally beyond human power. Experience, then, begins to check the wilder impulses of creative innovation. Imagination is controlled by a growing sense of fact. Finally, this sense of fact,

this consciousness of environment, grows stronger and stronger, until at length all innovating impulse is repressed and strangled. Again art lapses into a convention not to be disturbed until, perhaps after generations, fresh creative impulse shall burst its bonds again." The Elizabethan drama affords a remarkably compact example of literary and artistic evolution. If these generalizations concerning this matter be not clear, any one may define their meaning for himself by comparing the *Tamburlaine* of Marlowe, the *Hamlet* of Shakspeare, and John Webster's *Duchess of Malfy*. In these three writers, one may almost say, a cycle of literary evolution is complete.

This generalization concerning the arts of expression is far longer, more desultory, and less bold than Mr. Adams's concerning the phenomena of history. Like his, however, it is the fruit of a good many years of conscientious thinking. At first, very likely, it would seem to bear no great resemblance to his. *Imagination* is a rather agreeable word, and *fear* — unless you carefully specify it to be the fear of God — is rather a contemptuous one. A *sense of fact* is commonly held to be rationally commendable, and *greed* — unless it be greed of honor — to be generally abominable. If we set aside prejudice, however, asking ourselves rigidly what these terms mean, and neglecting for the moment what they accidentally suggest, we come presently to an unexpected conclusion. *Imagination* is a pretty name for a special form of a kind of consciousness which in its broadest aspect may properly, if not quite cordially, be named *fear*, — that kind of consciousness whose prime trait is that it recognizes in its environment a limitless range of possibilities as yet strange to experience. So a *sense of fact* and *greed* are widely different, but not inconsistent, names for a kind of consciousness whose prime trait is that it recognizes with growing distinctness the exact nature of its material surroundings. For at least one reader, then, Mr. Adams's generalization has illuminated mental regions hitherto dark; it has suddenly extended to the whole limits of human history the range of a generalization of his own which until this word was written had seemed limited to no wider range than that of plastic and literary art.

In saying this one does not necessarily assent to his views in detail; one does not even accept as final the extreme fatalism which seems to characterize his philosophy. One need

not in the least admit that he is right in believing that he has unflinchingly set forth the imminent, inexorable fate of the civilization which at present we enjoy. One is bound, however, to feel that he has fearlessly expounded a remarkably consistent view of a constant, crescent danger which threatens us. One is bound, in short, to speak of his work in the language of Raleigh: "In a word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other men's fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings."

Walter Raleigh was a wise man. There is another saying of his which we may well recall: "Such is the multiplying and extensive virtue of dead earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath cast upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with, every one hath received a several picture of face, and every one a diverse picture of mind; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing; there being nothing in which nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude." Judged by this canon, it is needless to say, there are still many aspects in which Mr. Adams's work may be viewed as a remarkable triumph of nature. But triumph of dissimilitude though the book may be, it deserves, if the views here set forth of it be just, a record in this place; for if these views be just, there is more than a chance that it is a notable, lasting contribution to historical philosophy made among us here, in our own New England.

MR. CHARLES C. SMITH said that the Committee appointed to publish a volume of selections from the Bowdoin and Temple Papers, communicated to the Society in 1894 by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., had made such progress in the duty assigned to them that it was hoped the volume would be ready for distribution at the next Annual Meeting. The volume covers a period from some years before the passage of the Stamp Act down to the recognition of American Independence by the preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain. He desired now to communicate for publication in the Proceedings a letter of a later period from Governor Bowdoin to his brother-in-law George Erving. It was written after the adoption of the Federal Constitution and before the new government was

organized, and shows what were the expectations at that time of a man of moderate opinions with regard to the practical working of the new system.

Boston, Aug. 12, 1788.

SIR, — I wrote you by Bernard y^e 20th of May, since which I have had y^e pleasure of receiving your very obliging letter of y^e 15th of April, mentioning that your friend Paul Wentworth, Esq., had informed you that on the 3^d of April I was elected a member of the Royal Society by a large attendance of its members. I esteem myself greatly honoured by y^e election, and the more so as it was unsolicited and unexpected on my part. I beg y^e favour you will signify to M^r. Wentworth in the most respectful terms my thanks to him for the very obliging part he took in this transaction; and at the same time, you, my dear Sir, will on this occasion have the goodness to accept of my best acknowledgments for interesting yourself so warmly and effectually in behalf of your friend. The expence of the diploma, which you are so good as to say you will pay, shall be repaid to your order, & with thanks.

I am very glad you have resumed the subject of one of your former letters, and doubt not I shall receive at least as much pleasure from your further discussion of it as I had from the first. As to the new plan of federal government, which you approve in theory, but doubt whether it will be practicable, it has been adopted by eleven of the States, and will probably be in operation by March next. If it be well administred, I believe y^e States will be very happy under it. Having long experienced the evils arising from inefficiency, they will the more readily submit to a firm and efficient government, to which from choice as well as necessity they will be strongly attached, though it is easily conceivable that some individuals whose views and wishes cannot be realized under good government will endeavour to disrest the minds of the people, and make them uneasy, even with the best formed government administred in the best manner. It is imagined here that after a few years experience, w^{ch} will determine what alterations are eligible, the federal constitution will become fixt; that good government being firmly established, a great number of people, and many of the better sort, will emigrate hither from different parts of Europe, and that y^e United States from that circumstance, as well as by natural encrease, will in a short time be viewed in a respectable light, even by the ministry & polititians of Great Britain, whose system of politicks in regard to American commerce will probably be somewhat if not greatly altered when Congress under y^e new Constitution will have the power of regulating it within y^e ports of y^e United States.

Your sister presents you her most affectionate regards in connection with, S^r,

Yrs.

Mr. SMITH also communicated for Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick, who was not present, the memoir of the late Hamilton A. Hill which Dr. Herrick had been appointed to write for the Proceedings.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called attention to the recently published Bibliography of the State of Maine, by the Hon. Joseph Williamson, and said : —

Within a few months the Honorable Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, has given to the Historical Society a copy of his "Bibliography of the State of Maine from the earliest period to 1891," in two volumes. It is numbered 4 of ten copies on large paper, and forms altogether one of the most complete works of its kind yet published, being at the same time an honor to the literature of his native State and a monument to his own labors. His scope is a wide one, and, with certain exceptions, takes in the full titles of "every book, pamphlet, and reputable magazine article at any time printed in or having reference to Maine, and also all of which the authors were, at the time of writing or publishing, residents within the state." A careful scrutiny of its pages fails to detect any important errors or omissions, but one statement therein contained, however, can be modified by the existence of a pamphlet on our shelves. In speaking of the third edition of the Reverend Thomas Symmes's sermon, occasioned by the death of Captain John Lovewell at Pigwacket fight, in what is now Fryeburg, Maine, and preached at Bradford, Massachusetts, on May 16, 1725, Judge Williamson says: "Perfect copies of this edition are very rare. No copy is known to exist which contains the title-page" (II. 495). If he means by this statement that no perfect copy is known to exist, with the titlepage, he may be correct; but there is one in this library, with the titlepage, but unfortunately lacking the last two leaves. Owing to its rarity, I give here a reproduction of the page, as near as modern type will allow, as follows: —

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
F I G H T

OF THE INTREPID

Captain JOHN LOVELL,

WHICH TOOK PLACE

On the Eighth day of May, 1725,

ON THE BEACH OF LOVELL'S POND, IN
FREYBURGH,

In the District of MAINE.

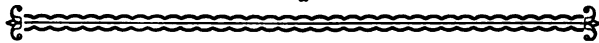
TOGETHER WITH THE

Commemoration S E R M O N,

DELIVERED

By the Rev. Mr. T. SYMMES.

Published according to Act of Congress.



PRINTED AT *Freyburg*, BY AND FOR
ELIJAH RUSSELL,
1799.

This Society also possesses a copy of the first edition of the same sermon; and as that, too, is a rare tract, I give below a transcript of the titlepage, indicating the lines by turned dashes :—

Lovewell Lamented. | — | OR, A | SERMON | Occasion'd by
the Fall | Of the Brave | *Capt.* John Lovewell | And Several
of his | *Valiant* COMPANY, | In the late | Heroic Action | at
Piggwacket. | Pronounc'd at *Bradford*, May 16 1725 | — | By
Thomas Symmes, V. D. M. | — | [Two lines from Isaiah iii. 25.]
| — || BOSTON in *New-England*: | Printed by *B. Green* Junr. for
S. Gerrish, | near the Brick Meeting House in Cornhill. | 1725.
16mo. pp. (1), xii, 32.

The sermon contains an historical preface, duly attested by three of the company, which gives many particulars of this ill-fated expedition. It includes a list of the men who took part in the fight, with the names of the killed and wounded.


The following advertisement in "The Boston News-Letter," July 1, 1725, gives the exact date of publication :—

THIS Day is Published, Historical Memoirs of the late Battle at Piggwacket, between *Capt.* Lovewell & Company, and a Number of our Indian Enemy; well Attested by several that were in that Fight. With a Sermon Preach'd upon that Memorable Occasion, By the Reverend Mr. Symmes, of Bradford. To be Sold by Samuel Gerrish Bookseller, near the Brick Meeting House in Corn-hill, Boston. Price 1 s. single, & 10 s per doz.

This edition was so soon exhausted that within ten days another was printed. In its list of advertisements "The New-England Courant" (Boston), July 10, has the following :—

*† In a few Days will be publish'd, The Rev. Mr. Symmes's Sermon upon the Death of *Capt.* Lovewell, &c. in the late Fight at Piggwacket, with a particular Account of that memorable Action, well attested. Sold by Samuel Gerrish, Bookseller, near the Brick Meeting House in Cornhill [*sic*], Boston. Price 1 s. single, or 10 s. per doz,

This edition duly appeared on time, according to a notice in "The Boston News-Letter," July 15, as follows :—

 **T**HE First Impression of the Rev. Mr Symmes's Sermon, occasion'd by the Fall of the Valiant Capt LOVEWELL, and others in the late Fight at Piggwacket, with a particular Account of that Heroic Action, being Sold off in a few days: This is to give Notice, That a Second Impression, Corrected & Enlarged, is now just out of the Press. Sold by Samuel Gerrish, near the Brick Meeting-house in Cornhill, Boston. Price 1 s. Single, or 10 s. per Doz

A copy of the second edition is found in the library of the Boston Athenæum, from which is made a lined transcript of the titlepage as given below:—

Historical Memoirs | Of the Late Fight at | *Piggwacket*, |
WITH A | SERMON | Occasion'd by the Fall of the Brave | Capt
John Lovewell | And Several of his Valiant Company, | IN THE
LATE | Heroic ACTION there. | Pronounc'd at *Bradford, May, 16.*
1725 | — | By THOMAS SYMMES, V. D. M. | — | The Second Edition
Corrected. | — | [Two lines from Isaiah iii. 25.] | — || BOSTON in
New England: | Printed by *B Green Jun.* for *S Gerrish*, near the |
Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill. 1725. 16mo. pp. (1), xii, 32.

In this edition the running title of "An *Historical PREFACE*" is changed to "*Memoirs of the Fight at Piggwacket.*" A few corrections are made in the list of the soldiers, notably in the instance where Isaac Lakin's name is substituted for John Gilson's. The whole pamphlet appears to have been set up anew.

Three other editions of the sermon have been published at various times in different places, namely: one in Portland, Maine (1818), another in Concord, New Hampshire (1861), and a third in Boston (1865).

Copies of both the early editions (1725) are found in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

Mr. WILLIAM P. UPHAM said that he had recently examined a large mass of fragmentary papers belonging to the Society, many of which were of great historical interest. A few of these fragments were found to be so badly decayed, and yet so valuable, as to require immediate attention. These he had carefully repaired, and put into a condition for preservation, and had made copies of them so far as was possible, describing them as copies of certain fragments found among a

large collection of Court papers in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This collection was deposited with the Society about seventy years ago, and came from the Tudor family. The papers evidently consist for the most part of the files of the Superior Court of Judicature in a very broken and confused condition, and resemble in every respect a similar mass of papers formerly deposited in chests and kept in the cellar of the Suffolk Court House and afterwards in the cellar of the Probate Office Building, and recently put in order and arranged in bound volumes by Mr. Upham under the direction of Mr. John Noble, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court.

Among these papers were found certain portions of leaves torn from ancient record books and notarial records, and many other signs of rough handling long ago; which goes to confirm the tradition that these papers, like those in the Court House, were stored in the Old South Meeting House at the Revolution, and while the British troops were there, the chests were broken open and the papers and books wantonly scattered.

Many of these manuscripts are in so fragmentary a condition that they would be unintelligible in print. One of them, however, though it contains but a few words, seemed to him to be so interesting as to repay by itself the trouble of examining the whole collection. It is a deposition by William Dade, in 1659, he being then fifty-four years of age, in relation to a lawsuit then being tried at the County Court in Charlestown between the "Proprietors of Charlestown Stinted Common" and Thomas Gold (or Gould), at that time tenant of Winthrop's "Ten Hills" farm. William Dade testifies that many years before "there was an agreement between John Winthrop, Senior of *blessed memory* by his agent, and the prudential men of Charlestown." It is very extraordinary and very pleasing to find such a term of regard used in a business transaction so soon after Winthrop's death. The following is printed from the original, which is in good preservation : —

"The Deputyes beinge Informed that there are severall Great Gunns to be had at very reasonable Rates both at Barbados & french Tartoodos & that no effectuall Course hath bin taken to prosecute the order lately made for the obtayninge either of Great or small Artillery, doe therefore Judge meete that some further Consideration may be had by this Court Touchinge that affayre & such psons may be treated withall

as haue bin in Nomination for pcurring such Gunns as in the sd order is exprest or in Case of faylure that some other course may be taken to pcur those first aboue mentioned, that so the Country may be supplied in that respect the Deputyes haue past this desiring the Consent of o^r Hono^r^d Magistrates hereto.

21 (8) 1673.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*.

The ma^gis^t Consent hereto & haue Appointed Richard Russell Esq^r to Joyne wth [some] of their brethren the Deputjes as a Comittee to bring the same to effect their brethren the deputyes hereto Consenting.

21th october 1673.

EDWARD RAWSON *Secret^r*

The Deputyes Consent hereto & haue appoynted Cap^t Allen & Cap^t Hamon to be of this Comittee

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*"

In connection with his remarks upon this collection of manuscripts, Mr. Upham made the following announcement:

The Boston Athenæum has had an exact list made of all manuscripts in its custody, in answer to the very happy suggestion recently made by the American Historical Association that societies or individuals having hitherto unpublished manuscripts should make a list of them and report to the Association, with a view to the publication of such as might be deemed valuable to historical students. The work has been very thoroughly done for the Athenæum by Mr. A. P. C. Griffin. Among the manuscripts thus brought to light are some volumes of such very great value and interest that I think it proper, with the approbation of Mr. Lane, the Librarian of the Athenæum, to announce it here for the information of our members.

The volumes to which I refer are the following:—

1. The Notarial Record kept by William Aspinwall from Dec. 20, 1644, to July 4, 1651. 350 pp. 4^o
2. The Notarial Record of Samuel Tyley and Ezekiel Goldthwait, 1731–1754.
3. The Notarial Record of Ezekiel Price, 1754–1780.
4. The Record of County Court for Suffolk from 31 Oct. 1671, to April 1, 1680. 641 pp. F^o
5. Fifth Book of Executions—Suffolk—Inferiour Court of Common Pleas. 3 Nov. 1763 to Nov. 1771—also one record of execution, Feb. 26, 1779. 227 pp. F^o

The Aspinwall Record is of very great value, being equal in importance to the Note-Book of Thomas Lechford printed by the American Antiquarian Society in 1885. Its contents are of a similar character, notarial records of deeds, powers of attorney, judgments of court, protests, accounts, etc. Some of the powers of attorney are for the receiving of legacies or taking possession of inherited lands, and may be found to furnish clues to the connection between families in Old and New England. It is hoped that it may soon be published for the benefit of historical and genealogical students.

In glancing through the book I noticed one record of such peculiar interest bearing upon a question of local history, lately discussed, that I asked and readily obtained the privilege of making a copy for publication, which I present herewith. The question to which I refer is as to the location of the house first occupied by Governor Winthrop.

By the statement of Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay at the meeting of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in April, 1895, it appears that the house in which Winthrop lived during the earlier part of his residence in Boston, — that is, before 1643, — “was situated on land a few feet south of State Street, between Kilby and Congress streets.” Mr. Gay quotes the deed of that house by Winthrop to his creditors, Sept. 26, 1643, recorded in Suffolk Registry of Deeds. He also shows that Valentine Hill gave a deed of it to Richard Hutchinson, May 24, 1649. How Hill came to be the owner he does not state.

The following record, above referred to, accounts for the apparent break in the title, and also shows how Winthrop came to dwell during the last six years of his life on the lot near the Old South Meeting House and opposite School Street. That his creditors in Boston should have voluntarily replaced the mansion-house which misfortune and his high sense of honor had obliged him to surrender, by providing him with a house “more convenient” for his use, shows the great affection and esteem with which he was regarded by all.

Extract from Notarial Record of William Aspinwall at the Boston Athenæum.

Page 191. 15 (3) 1649 “Whereas John Winthrop of Boston in the Massachusetts, bearing date [*blank* *] for satisfaction of his Creditors

* See Suff. Regy of Deeds, vol. i. p. 45. The deed was dated 26—(7)^{mo}—1643.

did giue & grant vnto W^m Tyng the then Treasurer for the Country Valentine Hill of Boston merch^t & diuers other of his sd Creditors All that his mansion house in Boston wth the yards gardens & orchyards * therevnto belonging: & all that his ferme called Tenhills in Charls towne wth the lands &c: therevnto belonging (as by the sd deed doth more fully appeare) to the vse of the sd Valentine Hill & the rest of his sd Creditors & theire heires, for satisfaction of such summes of money as were due vnto them: And whereas there is due vnto the sd Valentine from the sd John Winthrop the summe of fyve hundred pounds w^{ch} is more then a third parte of all that is due to all the Creditors: In consideration here of the rest of the sd Creditors whose names are here vnder written haue agreed & consented that the sd Valentine shall haue & enjoy the sd mansion house in Boston wth the Appurtenances at the rate it hath beene apprized by indifferent men viz^t

[blank] to him and his heires. & wee whose names are here vnder written doe for vs & o^r heires release & confirme to the sd Valentine & his heires all o^r right title & interest in & to the sd mansion house wth the Appurtenances. In testimony whereof we haue here vnto subscribed o^r names. Dated (12) 6. 1644.

RICH: DUMER.

THO: ALLEN.

RICH: TRUESDALE.

BENJAMIN GILLOM.

RICHARD RUSSELL.

ROBERT SEDGWICK.

HENRY WEBB.

ANTHONIE STODDARD.

TIMOTHIE HATHERLEY.

SUSAN HUDSONS MARKE.

EDW. BENDALL.

ROB^t LONG for M^r AXTEL.

I the sd John Winthrop do earnestly intreate the rest of my Creditors to giue their consent herevnto, w^{ch} they may doe wthout wrong to themselves, in regard that the ferme w^{ch} is left to them is more then twice so much worth as the sd house, & the sd valentine wth the rest of of Boston haue pvided mee a more convenient house for my vse.

JOHN WINTHROP.

† m^r Richard Webb, m^r Anthonie Stoddard, Benjamin Gillom, Richard Truesdale, Edward Bendale, did acknowledge before mee W^m Aspinwall Notary publ. this 24 (1) 1648 that the subscription of their names on the other side was their owne act. So also did

* Or orchyard.

† Page 192.

m^r Richard Russell, major Robert Sedgwick Robert Long & Susan Hudson. 5 (2) 1648. Quod attestor &c:”

The request of Winthrop was written in the margin of the original, and apparently before the signing by the creditors.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the Hon. WILLIAM W. CRAPO, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE, and Messrs. HENRY W. HAYNES and GAMALIEL BRADFORD.

MEMOIR
OF
HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL, LL.D.

BY SAMUEL E. HERRICK.

HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL died at his residence (Hotel Cluny) in Boston, early on the morning of Saturday, the 27th of April, 1895. Till within a few days of his death, his appearance in all his accustomed resorts was so constant and familiar, his activities social and literary were so sustained and vigorous in connection with the various organizations to which he belonged, his physical appearance was so naturally sturdy and his mental powers so alert and his interest in all historic and current affairs so vital, that the announcement of his departure came as a shock to all who knew him. It is rarely given to a man holding no marked official position, outside of all recognized professional lines, never dowered with material resources beyond the simple demands of modest household comfort, and standing in no line of special hereditary or traditional influence, to fill so large a place, social, religious, and literary, and to fill it so well, as did the subject of this memoir.

He was never a great merchant; but for signal services to the mercantile profession, no name was more honorably known than his. He made no pretensions to scholarship; and yet he accomplished work for which many scholars will be grateful. He never aspired to social prestige; but society at its best loved him and welcomed his presence. He was neither a statesman nor a politician; but he was a citizen distinguished beyond most for his intelligent patriotism. He was not a religious leader; and yet in the communion which he loved and honored, few men were more honored and loved than he, for the part which he bore in the religious thought and life of his time.



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Hamilton A. Hill



Hamilton Andrews Hill, the eldest son of Hamilton Hill and Anna, daughter of George Andrews, of Holybourne House, near Alton, Hauts, was born in London, April 14, 1827. Hamilton Hill, the father, born at Glastonbury, Somerset, March 16, 1794, was the son of William, born October 1, 1759, educated at Kingsbridge Grammar School, and afterward a solicitor at Glastonbury. This William was the second son of another William, who was born at Exeter, August 17, 1726, and died in 1804 in his seventy-eighth year. *His* father was William of Whitestone in Devonshire, baptized April 25, 1698, and died October 28, 1743. This William was the son of Hugh, baptized January 4, 1664-5, who was the youngest of six sons of Clement Hill, of Puddington, Devonshire, and his wife, Agnes Gorges, whom he married in 1646. This Clement was son of another Clement. From this point — the eighth generation — the line of ascent cannot be positively traced. Two other sons of Hamilton Hill grew to manhood: Clement Hugh, a counsellor-at-law, retired from practice and a member of this Society; and Alfred Bryce, for many years a stock-broker in Boston and afterward in New York, and Vice-President of the New York Stock Exchange, in whose building he died suddenly July 15, 1887, just after having, in the absence of the President, announced the death of a member.

Mr. Hill had his education in boyhood first at the City of London School, and afterward at a private school kept by Mr. Samuel Wilkins, father of the distinguished Professor of Latin in Owens College, Manchester. In his fourteenth year, early in 1841, he came with his father's family to America. It was no holiday flitting, though for a boy of his intelligence, and bred as he had been amid the staid, traditional, comfortable, and cultivated conditions of English life, it must have been full of romantic and even bizarre experience. It was the migration of a household out of the refinements of high civilization into the conditions of comparative barbarism. Oberlin, Ohio, was at that day in the far-off wilds of "the West." Only eight years before this the foundations of the College and the town had been laid in what was then an unbroken forest. The projectors of the enterprise were governed by thoroughly unworldly, and, as it seemed to many at the time and for long years afterward, Utopian and fantastic notions. They proved themselves to be of that kind of "come-outers" which in all ages from Abraham down have inaugu-

rated great moral, social, political, and religious movements. They were puritans and pilgrims, seeking a better country; and, like all such in all time, they were largely under the world's ban. The conditions of the Colony and College in infancy were more than strenuous. After struggling for six or seven years they were \$30,000 in debt and threatened with bankruptcy. The great fire of 1835 in New York, and still further the financial overturning of 1837, had annulled the pledges, and swept away the slender endowments upon which the work had been carried on. The friends to whom they could appeal in America were few, and these not very sympathetic. In this crisis the Rev. John Keep and Mr. William Dawes, two of the Oberlin trustees, undertook a financial mission to England. They prosecuted their endeavors particularly "among the antislavery people, especially those of the Society of Friends, to whom the Oberlin enterprise commended itself on account of its antislavery character and its forwardness in the education of women. The fact also that Oberlin students had already become engaged in missionary work among the freedmen of Jamaica was a matter of interest to many Christians of England."¹ After an absence of a year and a half, Messrs. Keep and Dawes returned to America, having secured, above all their expenses, thirty thousand dollars in money, "sufficient to meet the most pressing liabilities of the institution, together with a large accession of books to the library and good provisions for philosophical and chemical apparatus."² They brought with them more valuable apparatus than that, having succeeded in persuading to accompany them to the wilds of Oberlin "Mr. Hamilton Hill of London, a very genial Christian gentleman, and his family." Mr. Hill was invited to become the secretary and treasurer of the College, a position which he held for twenty-three years. This was in 1841. For three years after this the subject of our memoir was a member of Oberlin College, after which, without graduating, he left his studies and came to Boston to enter upon a mercantile career. From this time (1844) until his death, more than half a century later, there were few of Boston's native citizens, even of those who could boast of seven generations of Pilgrim or Puritan ancestry behind them on these shores, who were so thoroughly imbued with the town's

¹ President Fairchild's History of Oberlin, p. 208.

² Ibid. p. 209.

historic spirit, who took greater pride in its traditions, deeper interest in its welfare, or felt a more absorbing enthusiasm for its advancement toward every high moral or civic ideal. Said Dr. George A. Gordon, in a beautiful tribute spoken in the Old South Church at the time of Mr. Hill's decease: —

“The Puritan past had an especial charm for him. He had been prepared by ancestry, home-training, and all the fountains of early interest to venerate the characters and achievements of the men and women who made New England, — the records of their voyages to these shores, of their settlement in different parts of the colony, of their institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, of the struggles and hardships of their lives, of their simple and touching domestic history, the birth and baptism of their children, the marriage of their sons and daughters, the burial of their dead, and their bearing under the immemorial mystery of sorrow, the succession of their generations at the great and solemn task of living, and the issue of the Pilgrim and Puritan communities in the New England of to-day. These records were to him almost as sacred as a chapter from the Bible.”

For the first three or four years of his residence in Boston, he was employed as a clerk with Whitney & Fenno, importers and dealers in dry-goods, in Milk Street. In 1848 he began business as a forwarding and commission agent between Great Britain and Canada, in partnership with Eben Sears, under the style of Hill & Sears. For some years they were very successful; but the opening of the Canadian Railway to Portland and the establishment of the Canadian line of steamers gradually took away the business from Boston, and the firm was dissolved.

This turn of affairs, whether regarded as fortunate or not for himself by Mr. Hill, was certainly so for the broader interest of the community. He had not found — he was not to find — his true vocation in the walks of commercial enterprise. He spent the years 1861–64 in the Boston Custom House, and for six years more was secretary first of the local and then of the National Board of Trade. These positions first disclosed his remarkable versatility as a writer upon social, commercial, and economic questions, and brought him frequently before the public in a series of notable addresses, the bibliography of which as they are to be found in our Library, and furnished me by the kindness of Mr. Tuttle, our Assistant Librarian, I have taken the liberty to append to this memoir.

For four consecutive sessions, 1878-81, Mr. Hill was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, serving during a portion of the time as chairman of the Committee on Finance and also of the Committee on Harbors and Public Lands. From this time, while his interest in commercial affairs did not cease, he devoted his energies and studies more especially to historic research. As a member of the *Bostonian*, the *New-England Historic Genealogical*, the *American Philosophical*, and the *American Antiquarian Societies*, our associate found constant and congenial opportunities for a wide range of investigation, of which the results are of abiding and increasing value. Painstaking and faithful in research, independent and fair in his judgment, never subordinating his love of the truth to personal bias; clear, strong, and just; at the same time profound in his sympathy and deep and serious in his religious feeling, his contributions to the later annals of New England's and especially of Boston's Puritan life, must pass — may we not say, have already passed — into the abiding companionship of the *Annals of Prince* and the *Diaries of Sewall* and the *Lectures of Wisner*.

His literary life fitly culminated in the noble *History of the Old South Church*, published in 1890. It stands for strength and beauty in the field of our city's religious history much as the graceful and towering campanile of the Old South stands in the town's material architecture, — "a thing of beauty and a joy forever." If there were any indifferent enough to its moral and religious significance to question or deny its value, it must at least compel, even from such, an acknowledgment of its reverent endeavor, its abundant learning, and its finished grace.

Our associate's services to the cause of good learning were recognized by the bestowment of the academic degree of A.M. from Oberlin in 1867, and also from Williams in 1868; and by that of LL.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1893.

Mr. Hill married, in 1859, Miriam Phillips, daughter of Hon. Samuel H. Walley, who died in 1862, leaving a son, Samuel Walley, who survived her but a few days. In 1869 he married Anna Frances, daughter of Mr. Charles Carruth, a merchant of Boston, who with a son and a daughter survives him.

Works of Hamilton Andrews Hill, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Detroit Commercial Convention. The West and the East equally interested in the Development of American Steamship Navigation. An Address by Hamilton A. Hill, one of the Delegates from the Boston Board of Trade. Boston, 1865. 8vo, pp. 24.

A Review of the Proceedings of the Detroit Convention. Boston, 1866. 8vo, pp. 63.

Steam Navigation between Boston and Europe. A Paper read before the Department of Trade and Finance of the American Social Science Association, at Boston, January 30, 1867. Boston, 1867. 8vo, pp. 17.

The National Board of Trade. [From Hunt's Merchants' Magazine for July, 1868.] 8vo, pp. 7. No titlepage.

American Shipping: its Decline and the Remedies. [Prepared for the first Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, which was held in Cincinnati in December, 1868.] Boston, 1869. 8vo, pp. 31.

Commercial Associations: their Uses and Opportunities. Boston, 1869. 8vo, pp. 27.

The Relations of the Business Men of the United States to the National Legislation. [Read at the ninth Annual Meeting of the American Social Science Association, Philadelphia.] Boston, 1870. 8vo, pp. 32.

Arguments in favor of the Freedom of Immigration at the Port of Boston, addressed to the Committee on State Charities of the Massachusetts Legislature, April, 1871. By Hamilton A. Hill, Hon. Thomas H. Russell, and Hon. E. H. Derby. Boston, 1871. 8vo, pp. 44.

The Movement of the Farmers of the Western States against Railway and other Monopolies. A Paper read at the Social Science Congress, Norwich, October, 1873, and reprinted from the Transactions. London, 1874. 12mo, pp. 13.

Immigration. [A Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Social Science Association, Detroit, May, 1875, and republished from the Transactions.] Boston, 1875. 8vo, pp. 14.

Light Dues in Great Britain. Boston, 1875. 8vo, pp. 16.

Argument of Mr. Hamilton A. Hill (ex-Secretary of the Boston Board of Trade) against the revival of the Capitation Tax in the Ports of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, answering statements contained in the twelfth report of the Board of State Charities on the subject of Pauperism as affected by Immigration from Europe, and proving that Immigrants landed at Boston since 1871 have not become chargeable to the State of Massachusetts. Boston, March, 1876. 8vo, pp. 22.

An Inquiry into the Relations of Immigration to Pauperism. [An-

other edition of the "Argument" against the revival of the Capitation Tax.] Boston, 1876. 8vo, pp. 22.

The Exemption of Church Property from Taxation: a Paper read before the American Statistical Association, May 5, 1876. Boston, 1876. 8vo, pp. 38.

The Present Condition and Character of the Immigration Movement. [Remarks made at a session of the Conference of Charities, held at Saratoga Springs, in connection with the Annual Meeting of the Social Science Association, September 7, 1876.] Boston, 1876. 8vo, pp. 19.

Fishery Commission. [Tables prepared for the American Case, 1877.] 8vo, pp. (17). No titlepage. [*Verso* of each leaf blank.]

A Memorial Sketch of Isaac Chapman Bates. Reprinted from the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1877. Boston, 1877. 8vo, pp. 10. Portrait.

Canadian Reciprocity. Report and Resolutions adopted by the National Board of Trade at Milwaukee, August, 1877. Chicago, 1877. 8vo, pp. 11.

National Board of Trade. Action in favor of the Renewal of Reciprocal Trade with Canada. Milwaukee, August, 1877. [Another edition of "Canadian Reciprocity."] Boston, 1877. 8vo, pp. 11.

Minute submitted to the President of the United States on the subject of Reciprocal Trade with Canada, by a Committee of the National Board of Trade. [Private, Washington, Nov. 7, 1877.] 8vo, pp. 18. No titlepage.

[Report of the Committee on Finance, House of Representatives, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, April 29, 1878, to whom was referred the Bill to secure the interests of the Commonwealth in the New York and New England Railroad. House, No. 333.] 8vo, pp. 26. No titlepage.

The Navigation Laws of Great Britain and the United States. [A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Social Science Association, at Saratoga Springs, September 6, 1877, and reprinted from the Transactions.] Boston, 1878. 8vo, pp. 18.

The Place of the Practical Man in American Public Affairs. [A Paper read before the Annual Meeting of the American Social Science Association, at Saratoga Springs, September 11, 1879.] Boston, 1879. 8vo, pp. 20.

Penalties for Crimes against Property. A Paper presented to the [American] Social Science Association, September, 1882. Boston, 1883. 8vo, pp. 10.

National Board of Trade. Address of Hamilton Andrews Hill, Secretary of the Board. Cincinnati, May 30, 1883. Boston, 1883. 8vo, pp. 11.

Memoir of Abbott Lawrence. With an Appendix. Boston, printed for private distribution, 1883. 8vo, pp. xiii, 243. Portraits.

— Same. Second Edition. Boston, 1884. 8vo, pp. xv, 258. Portrait.

The Story of Naaman and its Lesson. A Sermon preached in the Old South Meeting-House, Boston, March 28, 1858, by the Rev. Jacob Merrill Manning, one of the Pastors of the Old South Church. [Edited by Mr. Hill.] Boston, 1883. 8vo, pp. 22.

1669–1882. **An Historical Catalogue of the Old South Church (Third Church), Boston.** [Prepared by Mr. Hill and George Frederick Bigelow, in compliance with a vote of the Church, September, 1883.] Boston, printed for private distribution, 1883. 8vo, pp. x, (2), 370, (1).

American Statistical Association. Boston's Trade and Commerce for Forty Years, 1844–1884. [A paper read at the quarterly meeting of the Association, Boston, April 18, 1884.] Boston, 1884. 8vo, pp. 20.

Joshua Scottow and John Alden. [An Address before the Old South Church, Sunday Evening, October 26, 1884.] 8vo, pp. 20. No imprint.

William Phillips and William Phillips, Father and Son, 1722–1827. [Reprinted from the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1885.] 8vo, pp. 14. No imprint. Portrait.

Commercial Conventions and the National Board of Trade. An Address. Chicago, April 28, 1885. Boston, 1885. 8vo, pp. 22.

The Detroit Commercial Convention of 1865. An Address. Detroit, June 16, 1886. Boston, 1886. 8vo, pp. 13.

The American Board. Is its proper relation to the churches that of Domination or Dependence? [Reprinted from the Andover Review.] Cambridge, 1887. 8vo, pp. 42.

Memoir of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder. [Reprinted from the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1888.] Boston, printed for private distribution, 1888. 8vo, pp. 15. Portrait.

The Case of the Rev. William H. Noyes, Foreign Missionary of the Berkeley Street Church, Boston. [Edited by Mr. Hill.] Boston, 1889. 8vo, pp. 80.

History of the Old South Church (Third Church), Boston, 1669–1884. In two volumes. Boston and New York, 1890. 8vo, pp. xiii, (1), 602, and viii, (1), 688. Illustrated.

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library, the President presented, in the name of Mr. Charles H. Hart, of Philadelphia, a Corresponding Member, a curious drawing of Mrs. Henry Knox, daughter of Secretary Flucker, and read the following extract of a letter from Mr. Hart to him: —

“I enclose a curious drawing of ‘Mrs. Knox, wife of General Henry Knox, as she appeared in Philadelphia, during Washington’s administration.’ It was drawn by a son of Robert Morris, the Financier, and as a fit accompaniment I give you an extract from an unpublished letter from Mrs. Abby Hamilton, of Philadelphia, to Mrs. Sarah Bache, in England, describing the lady. It is almost needless to add that Mrs. Bache was Franklin’s daughter, and Mrs. Hamilton, one of the celebrated Franks beauties; her sister Fila marrying Oliver De-lancey, and Rebecca, a belle of André’s Michianza, General Sir Henry Johnston, of the British army, whom she met at the fête.

“ November 25th, 1792.

“ ‘I was last night at the Assembly where I met your son Benjamin who told me if I would write he would send it as you were now in London. . . . I think I must tell you why I was at the Assembly. Ann made her *grande entrée* as a bride, and your son made his first appearance as a manager and he behaved to a charm. I hate the Assemblies . . . However it was pleasanter than I expected for I got a comfortable seat and Madam K** was worth going to see. She was really a treat. Figure to yourself a fancy dress, purple body, long white sleeves, gold muslin train and coat, handkerchief inside, drawn tucker, childlike outside, that not a turn of the shape should be hid; purple satin turban, pink tiffany band, ornamented with beads, stuck on the very top of a high cushion and you have the Goddess of War in *statu quo*. How do you like her? Many other figures but none equal to her! Tell me would she not do in England where nothing’s old but his infernal majesty?’ ”

The PRESIDENT then said : —

An item has recently been going the rounds of the press to the effect that the famous old frigate "Constitution," now lying dismantled at the Portsmouth Navy Yard in New Hampshire, is falling to pieces through the process of natural decay, and, unless soon repaired, must be broken up as the alternative to sinking at her moorings.

It certainly does not need to be said here that the "Constitution" is a ship of incomparable historical interest, an interest also which cannot but grow greater with each succeeding year. It has been well and truly remarked by one of our historians, that it was her broadsides which in the short space of thirty minutes raised the United States from a lightly considered nation of the second class into a recognized naval power of the first order.¹ She represents, also, an extinct type of naval architecture, — a type as extinct now as was the trireme when she was built. Not only a great and inspiring tradition, she is a survival. Nelson's flag-ship, the old "Victory," is not more so. The "Mayflower" alone of all the innumerable marine connected with the history of the English-speaking American people, is an equally familiar household word; and if by any chance the "Mayflower" had been preserved to this day, the suggestion of breaking her up would be regarded as impious. As soon find in Plymouth Rock material for a foundation wall! Yet the "Constitution" is to the full as interesting and suggestive as the "Mayflower," and in measurable degree only is she less old and less antiquated. Under these circumstances it might perhaps not be improper for this Society, in the interests of history, to memorialize Congress for the preservation of this now venerable reminder of distinguished men, great events, and an extinct architecture.

However this may be, there now is in all human probability not a single piece of wood about the present "Constitution" which formed a part of her when, hard upon a century since, in 1798, she slid down the ways at Hart's Wharf, here in Boston. She certainly was overhauled and largely rebuilt in 1836; and at that time Commodore Isaac Hull, who, as every school-boy in this case does really know, commanded her in her famous battle with the "Guerrière," caused a piece of the

¹ Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, vol. vi. p. 375.

original live-oak timber taken from her frame to be made into a cane, which he presented to my grandfather, John Quincy Adams, then ex-President and a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

As it is almost needless to say, Mr. Adams valued this gift greatly. He valued it not only on account of Commodore Hull, from whom it came, but yet more as a bit, so to speak, of the true naval cross of his country, the bulwarks of the famous "Constitution," the ship that it was his father's boast in later life that he, when President, caused to be built. As a boy, I well remember the cane lying in my grandfather's library at Quincy in a case which bore on its cover, if I recollect right, a history of its contents. If this was so, the case long since was broken up and disappeared. Whether so or not, the cane itself had, and still has, a strip of silver around it under the handle, bearing this inscription :—

ISAAC HULL
TO
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
LIVE OAK
FROM U. S. FRIGATE
CONSTITUTION. 1836.

So much did my grandfather value this gift from Isaac Hull that when he, some fifteen months before his death, made his will, he inserted an express item in it bequeathing the "Constitution" cane to me.

Two years ago our late associate Judge Hoar sent from his death-bed to be placed in our Cabinet a locket containing hair of President Lincoln cut from his head at the time of his assassination. In doing so he wrote that it did not seem to him "that so interesting a relic, commemorative of such an historical event, should be intrusted permanently to the possession of private parties, but should rather be held by some public historical institution, or other public body, where it may gratify the interested curiosity of that great number of people 'who are touched by identicals.'"¹ On this point I am of the same mind as Judge Hoar; and, moved by his example, having now owned this relic for nearly fifty of its sixty years, I have con-

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 263.

cluded to present it to the Society, to be deposited among other similar objects of interest in its Cabinet. Here at least it will be seen by many; and among those who see it there will be some who will experience the sense of being brought in very close touch with memorable men and celebrated events when they feel that this identical stick of wood trembled and vibrated at the shock of the broadsides of the "Constitution" in her famous battles of August 19 and December 29, 1812; and, moreover, that it was put in its present form by Commodore Isaac Hull as a gift to be given to President John Quincy Adams during the second administration of Andrew Jackson.

On motion of Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE, it was voted, that the suggestion of the President be referred to the Council, with a request that they memorialize Congress to take action for the preservation of the Frigate "Constitution."

The Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE said that it was understood the President intended to be absent in Europe for several months, and on his motion the Secretary was directed to enter upon the records an expression of the regret of the Society that they were to be deprived of his presence at their meetings, and their best wishes that he may have a pleasant, restful, and instructive sojourn abroad.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN exhibited a manuscript copy of the Laws of Harvard College, passed in the year 1655, and said:—

More than twenty years ago I had occasion to call the attention of the members to a manuscript copy of the Laws of Harvard College, belonging to the Society, which were passed in the year 1655. These Laws are printed in the Proceedings (XIV. 206–215) for February, 1876. At one time that copy had belonged to Jonathan Mitchel (H. C. 1687), and presumably to other undergraduates of an earlier period. See also Proceedings (III. 133) for an allusion to the same copy. I now take the opportunity to show another similar transcript of the same Laws, apparently the official copy of the College, as it had belonged to Charles Chauncy and Leonard Hoar, who both had been presidents in succession, and whose terms of administration extended from the autumn of 1654 to the spring of 1675.

The manuscript book comprises twenty-two pages, written

in a clear and handsome hand, of which fourteen are taken up with the Laws; and of the other pages two are blank, and the remainder is covered with detached entries made by different persons relating to the government of the students. It is stitched into a vellum cover, which has been used previously as part of a manuscript index to some theological work in Latin, long antedating the period of the Laws. In the margin of this cover can be made out, somewhat indistinctly, the name of Leonard Hoar, which is apparently an autograph signature. On the inside of the book are signatures by Charles Chauncy to two entries, of which one without doubt is an autograph, and perhaps both are autographs.

The half-title, with the lines indicated by turned dashes, reads as follows:—

THE LAWEs AND ORDERs OF HAR- | VARD COLLEDGE | Agreed
upon by the Overseers President | and Fellowes: Many of them in
former yeares | at Severall times: and the rest more | Lately, but all
of them (as they hereafter follow) received | ratified and Conclu- | ded
upon | At | A Meeting of the Overseers President and | Fellowes of
the Said Colledge on | the 30th of the 2^d Month | 1655

[With a bastard title thus:] The Lawes of the Colledge published |
before the Students | of Harvard Colledge | May. 4. 1655.

An extract "Out of the printed Lawes in the Title Colledge," given in the book, is interesting from the fact that it was probably taken from the missing edition of the Colonial Laws, printed in 1649, of which no copy is known now to be extant. The corresponding extract, as found in the edition of 1660, is considerably enlarged by the legislation of 1659.

Two unsigned entries in the same handwriting, found on opposite pages and made presumably at the same time, are given below. I am inclined to think that they were both written soon after the intended Charter of 1672 was granted by the General Court of Elections in October of that year.

Memorand:

Corporation nominated in y^e Charter of 50 was as follows viz:
Henry Dunster Presid^t: Sam^l, Mather Sam^l, Danforth Masters of Art,
Jonathan Mitchell, Comfort Star & Sam^l, Eaton Bachelors of Art,
fellows: & Thô: Danforth Treasurer.

Sam^l, Mather, & Sam^l, Danforth were Tutors:

Memorand^{um} Corporation Nominated in y^e Grant of 72 is as follows
viz: Leonard Hoar Presid^t: Sam^l: Danforth, Urian Oakes, Tho:
Shepard, Joseph Brown, Jn^o: Richardson fellows: Jn^o: Richards
Treasurer.

Joseph Brown, & John Richardson were Tutors

The following regulations appear in the book, and probably
are not found elsewhere in their original form, as the con-
tinuous records of the Overseers do not go back to that early
period:—

Another Penall lawe enacted by the
Generall Court held at Boston
8^r 14. 1656. and published
in the audience of the Students
in the Colledge 9^r. 21. 1656.

It is heerby ordered, that the Præsident and fellowes of Harvard
Colledge for the time being, or the major part of them are heereby
impowred according to ther best discretion, to punish all misdemeano^{rs}
of the youth in ther Society, eyther by fine, or whipping in the hall
openly, as the nature of the offence shall require, not exceeding ten
shillings, or ten sTripes for one offence: and this lawe to continue in
force untill this Court, or the Overseers of the Coll provide some other
order to punish such offences.

This is a true copy of the courts order

as attests.

EDW. RAWSON *Secrety.*

Concordat cū Originali.

Ita testor

CHARLES CHAUNCY *sec*

Laws that were reade, voted and passed by the over-seers 9th of the
2^d Month—1660 and published in the Coll: the next, being the 10th
day of the 2^d Month

No student shall liue or board in the family or private house of any
inhabitant in Cābridge w^{thout} leaue from the Præsident and his Tuto's
(as is pvided in the 11th and 14th law of the first head) and if any upon
such leaue obtained shall so liue, yet they shall attend all Coll: Exer-
cises both religiouse, and Scholastiall, and be under Coll: order and
discipline, as others ought to doe, and be that are Resident in the Coll,
and shall pay also five shillings a quarter towards Coll detrim^t, besides
ther Tuturage, and in case that any student shall-bee and liue in Towne,
as aforesaid out of y^e Coll, Co^mons, more then one moneth, whither
together, or at severall times w^{thout} leaue obtained, he shall thence-
forth be looked-at as no member of the Coll^g:

Also whereas the penalties imposed upon such Students, as are in Commons in the Coll: are not Sutable in some particulars, to awe, and deterre such as board in the Towne, as aboue said, its y^rfore heereby p^rvided, that the P^rsident or the P^rsident and Tutours may p^rceed wth them in the Towne in case of delinquency, by admonition and private Correction, vntill by reason of an incorrigible Spirit in the offenders: the P^rsident and Fellowes shall see cause to p^rceed to publicke Correction or Expulsion, any former or other lawe or Custome notwithstanding.

Also w^{as} diverse students are discontinuers for the indemnity of the Coll: it is heereby p^rvided, that in case any such shall bee behid of payments of detriments, and halfe-tuition according to former lawes, more then one Month after the Quarter-bill is given by the Stuart to the Butler, such non-payment shall bee looked at as ther utter wthdrawing from the Coll: and they shall loose all y^r time and interest, as to the claming of any degree or future priviledge in the Coll:, otherwise then by satisfaction of such arreages due and damages sustained and the approbation of the Corporation concerning them and notwithstanding such wthdrawing such students shall-bee liable to pay all such arrerages and just debts due to the Coll:

At a meeting of y^e overseers at y^e presidents

Aug. 24. 1663.

Whereas (through long experience) former orders have not been effectull for y^e preventing of vnecessary damages to ye coll: by y^e violence or carelesnes of those for whose accomodation great cost & charges have from time to time been expended. The overseers doe therefore order y^t henceforth all due care be taken for preventing thereof, & y^t when any damage shall bee found done to any study or chamber inhabited, y^e person or persons resident therein shall make good y^e same, & where any damage is done to y^e edifice of y^e coll: (excepting by y^e inevitable providence of god) any vacant chamber or study, y^e coll: fences about the yard, pumpe, bell, or clock &c: y^e same shall be made good againe by all y^e students resident in y^e coll: at such time when such damage shall bee done, or dis[cov]red to bee done, & shall bee duly payd in their quar[] to y^e treasurer, or other such officer of y^e coll: as shall bee [ap]poynted to disburse the same. provided always if y^e person or persons y^t were y^e actor or actours, or blameable occasion of such damage done be discovered, & doe appeare, he or they [shall] make full satisfaction for y^e same & shall also [] to further punishment by fine or otherwise [] to y^e demerit of the fact. And, whereas any student [] take vp any study, he shall pay y^e rent thereof for one whole yeare, whether he be resident therein soe long or not, & shall stand engaged to deliver y^e same in such good repayr, as he received it on his entrance.

At a meeting of y^e overseers of Harvard Coll:
at Boston. December. 5. 1667.

It is ordered y^t noe student be admitted into. y^e coll: by y^e president or his tutour vntill hee breing a certificate in y^e hand of y^e steward, y^t one quarters allowance for dues to y^e coll: be fvlly satisfied, nor shall any []tinued therein, vnles from time to time at every [] day they bring the like certificate from y^e steward y^t hee is satisfied for y^e following quarter, with y^e arrearages, if any bee for y^e quarter past, & in case either president, tutour, or any other officer shall presume soe to doe, they shall satisfy y^e damāge thereby sustained to y^e coll:, or steward, & y^e steward may abate such person whether president or tutovr of any dues to them appertaining, soe far as shall bee in his hands to allow them, & they shall alsoe bee lyable otherwise fully to satisfy all y^e sayd damāge.

It is ordered y^t y^e steward shall not bee enjoyned to accept, of above one quarter part flesh meat, of any person.

Whereas it is observed y^t there is great discouragement put vpon parents, by reason of severall abuses y^t are put vpon their children at their first entrance, by y^e senior students sending them vpon their private errands &c: The overseers doe commend it to y^e president & fellows, y^t for y^e future due care be taken to prevent y^e same, & y^t all abuses in y^t kind bee severely punished, by imposinge a penalty on such person or psons as shall presume soe to doe, or by corporall punishment as to y^e corporation shall seeme meet.

According to the following entry in the handwriting of President Chauncy, three young men were expelled from college in the spring of 1666, but it is probable that they afterward resumed their relations, as their names appear in the General Catalogue of the institution:—

10 (3) 1666

M****, H***** jun, and W***** jun. (according to the counsell of the Rev^d Elders) were expelled out of the Colledge, and ther names, cut out of the tables in the buttry by the order of the President in the p'sence of all the fellowes, for ther disorder and injurious cariage towards Andrew Belcher in killing, and hauing stolne ropes in hanging Goodmā Sells dogge upon the signe post in the night, w^{ch} fact was deliberately confessed by one of these delinquents, before the corporation with the reason moving thereunto: w^{ch} confession was also attested before his companions, and not denied in diuerse particulars, being pressed by the Rev^d Elders about them: besides two of them after-

wards corrupted, and seduced the confessor to unsay his confession : and many grosse lyes were told by all, and especially and especially [*sic*] by one of them : and ther were many circumstances, and probabilityes attesting the guiltinesse of thes crimes.

CHARLES CHAUNCY.

Our associate Mr. William P. Upham has called my attention to an instance of corporal punishment inflicted by a Fellow of the College on an undergraduate, as shown by various papers among the Suffolk Court files, of which the more important are numbered 35,210, 35,213, 35,215, 35,300, and 35,397 in their arrangement. It resulted in a suit brought by William Vassall (H. C. 1733) against "Daniel Rogers of Cambridge Gent & Fellow of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge." The assault took place on March 20, 1732-3, and was committed "in the Highway near the Market place so called, in Cambridge." According to the Laws and Orders, now shown, the whipping of the students was done "in the hall openly." At that time Mr. Rogers had only recently been appointed Tutor, which may have made him rather over-zealous in the discharge of his duties ; and by virtue of his tutorship he was a Fellow of the College, but not of the Corporation. At the trial he was fined five shillings and costs, from which verdict he appealed. The case came up again at the July term of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1733, when the former judgment was reversed.

This case, evidently, was one of the last instances of corporal punishment inflicted on a Harvard student by a college officer. President Holyoke, a graduate of the Class of 1746, is recorded as saying that in his day the practice was going out of use. About the year 1755 the law became so distasteful to the better feelings of the college authorities and to public sentiment that it was no longer enforced ; and thus passed out of sight a relic of barbarism which had come to the New World as an inheritance from English Universities. Without doubt, the practice in the mother country was a survival of that severe discipline which prevailed in monastic institutions throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. At the present time it is hard to realize the condition of things which would tolerate under any circumstances such a custom with all its grim accompaniments. Judge Sewall, in his Diary, under date of June 15, 1674, describes the flogging of a student in



the Library before the other students, which was preceded and followed by a prayer offered up by President Hoar. The lashes were laid on by William Healy, the prison keeper, whose services for the task were called into requisition. Only a few years later Healy was removed from his office for gross misconduct, when he himself was "sentenced to be severely whipped 20 stripes." Such is the irony of fate!

The earliest Laws and Orders that governed the administration of the College were written in Latin, and are found in Mather's *Magnalia* (Book IV. pages 132-134). The code was formed by President Dunster, and, as might have been expected, in some respects was similar to the laws that governed English Universities; and for many years it was the basis of all rules and regulations affecting the College.

Among the papers connected with the case of assault by Tutor Rogers, just cited, is a copy of an article from the Latin Laws, duly attested by the President of the College, as well as a translation of the same. This article is identical with the corresponding one printed in the *Magnalia*, showing that the Dunster code, either wholly or in part, was still in force nearly a hundred years after the College was founded. In the arrangement of the Court files, the Latin Law is numbered 35,300, and with the translation is as follows:—

Transcribed out of the Latin Laws by which Scholars have of late years been admitted into Harvard College — N° 12

Nulli ex Scholaribus Senioribus solis tutoribus et Collegij Sociis exceptis recentem sive Juniorem ad Itinerandum aut ad aliud quodvis faciendum minis verberibus vel aliis modis Impellere licebit, et siquis non graduatus in hanc legem peccaveret Castigatione Corporali expulsionem, vel aliter prout presidi cum sociis visum fuerit punietur —

Vera Copia

BENJAMIN WADSWORTH

CAMBRIDGE

Preses Collegii Harvardini

May 15th 1733

It shall be lawful for none of the senior scholars (the Tutors & Fellows of the College only excepted) to Compel a Freshman or Jun^r scholar to go of Errands or do any other service either by threats or blows or any other means and if any undergraduate shall offend against this Law he shall be punished Corporally or by Ex-

the Class of 1645. At the end of the volume is "A Catalogue of some books printed for, and sould by *Edmund Paxton*, over against the Castle Taverne, neere to the Doctors Commons." In the list are several titles by New England ministers, among whom appear the names of James Noyes, Thomas Parker, and John Norton.

Woodbridge was the author of a poem on the Reverend John Cotton, printed in Mather's *Magnalia* (Book III. pp. 30, 31), of which certain lines may have suggested to Dr. Franklin his famous epitaph on himself.

While I am on my feet, Mr. President, for the amusement of the members I will read an extract from a despatch dated at Madrid, February 6, 1878, and sent to the State Department in Washington by the Honorable James Russell Lowell, at that time United States Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain. It has no connection with the paper, just communicated, any further than that Mr. Lowell was a professor at Harvard for more than a generation, and always was a loyal son of the College. During a period of twenty-eight years he was a distinguished member of this Society, and whatever he said at the meetings was sure to attract attention. It is generally supposed that State papers are dry and heavy, but the following extract from one of his communications to the State Department shows that they may be otherwise, when an official personage is disposed to unbend his formal stiffness, and when the wit of the man is greater than the dignity of the diplomat:—

One of the devices of Fourcarde which came within Mr. Silvela's knowledge when in another Department of the Government, is so ingenious and amusing as to be worth recounting.

The Frenchman's object was to smuggle petroleum into Madrid without paying the *octroi*. To this end he established his storehouses in the suburbs, and then hiring all the leanest and least mammalian women that could be found, he made good all their physical defects with tin cases filled with petroleum, thus giving them what Dr. Johnson would have called the pectoral proportions of Juno. Doubtless he blasphemed the unwise parsimony of Nature in denying to women in general the multitudinous breasts displayed by certain Hindu idols. For some time these milky mothers passed without question into the unsuspecting city and supplied thousands of households with that cheap enlightenment

which cynics say is worse than none. Meanwhile, Mr. Fourcarde's pockets swelled in exact proportion to the Quaker breastworks of the improvised wet-nurses. Could he only have been moderate! Could he only have bethought him in time of the *ne quid nimis*. But on a fatal day he sent in a damsel whose contours aroused in one of the guardians at the gates the same emotions as those of Maritornes in the bosom of the carrier. With the playful gallantry of a superior he tapped the object of his admiration and—it tinkled. He had “struck oil” un-awares. Love shook his wings and fled; Duty entered frowning; and M. Fourcarde's perambulating wells suddenly went dry.

With a gentleman so ingenious the Spanish Government is perhaps justified in being on its guard. Even charity has its eyes and ears.

Richard Garnett, LL.D., of London, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, the Hon. William Everett, and Messrs. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., Justin Winsor, and Gamaliel Bradford.

A serial number of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the October and November meetings of the Society, was ready for delivery at this meeting.

JANUARY MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P.M.; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and in presenting the list of donors to the Library the Librarian called especial attention to the fact that during the month twenty folio volumes of newspapers belonging to the Society had been bound at the expense of a member, Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that, in conformity with a vote of the Society at the last meeting, a petition to Congress for the preservation of the Frigate "Constitution" had been drawn up, and signed by the members of the Council, and that it was presented in the Senate by the Hon. George F. Hoar, senior Senator from Massachusetts, and in the House of Representatives by the Hon. John F. Fitzgerald, who represents the district in which the ship was built. The petition is as follows:—

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

Your Memorialists, representing the Massachusetts Historical Society, and acting under instructions from it, would represent that it has come to the knowledge of the Society that the United States Frigate "Constitution," now lying at the Navy Yard in Kittery, Maine, has, through age and lack of adequate renewal, reached a condition when she must either be practically rebuilt or broken up, as the alternative to sinking at her moorings.

The oldest society of the kind in America, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Frigate "Constitution" are almost coeval; for while this Society was still young in years, the "Constitution" was launched from the ways of a wharf in Boston still named "Constitution Wharf" in grateful memory of the event; and when, in 1829, her destruction was ordered, it was the spirited lyric of Oliver Wendell Holmes, subsequently for many years a prominent member of the So-

ciety, which led to the revocation of the order and the preservation of the historic ship. The Massachusetts Historical Society thus feels a peculiar and almost personal interest in and reverence for the Frigate "Constitution."

Your Memorialists would further represent that an historical interest attaches to the "Constitution" which attaches to no other ship in the maritime annals of the English-speaking race in America; for it has been truly asserted by an American historian that it was the broadsides of the "Constitution" which, on the 29th of August, 1812, in the conflict with the British frigate "Guerrière," in the space of one short half-hour elevated the United States into the rank of a first-class power. The "Constitution" is also in the popular mind of the country associated with feats of devotion and daring than which none in our naval history are more skilful, more glorious, or more worthy of commemoration. Her name is synonymous with seamanship, courage, and unbroken triumph. In the view of your Memorialists, therefore, as in the view of a large portion of the citizens of the United States, and especially of New England, the same interest should attach to the "Constitution" which in Great Britain attaches to the equally old, though hardly more famous, line-of-battle ship "Victory," which bore the flag of Nelson at Trafalgar.

Under these circumstances, your Memorialists would pray that adequate provision be immediately made for renewing the "Constitution" and for hereafter preserving her, representing, as she ever will, a form of naval architecture now extinct, and associated, as she is and ever must be, with many of the most cherished recollections of the American people. The "Victory" is carefully perpetuated by Great Britain as an historical relic of unsurpassed value and abiding interest, and the American people regard the "Constitution" as to them in no way less precious.

Under the instructions of the Society they represent, your Memorialists, constituting the Council of that Society, would, therefore, further respectfully pray that the "Constitution," when renewed, may be permanently placed at the Washington Navy Yard, where she may in future be easily accessible to that large number of American citizens who feel a patriotic and abiding interest in the associations she must forever recall, and that, like the "Victory" at Portsmouth, she be then hereafter kept in complete repair and used as a Naval Museum, open to all.

And your Memorialists will ever pray, etc.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then announced the deaths, since the last meeting, of two Resident Members, the one, — a merchant with a conscience, a sagacious legislator, a bountiful giver, —

Henry Lillie Pierce; the other,—soldier, teacher, administrator, eager for good in public labors, adviser in many spheres,—Francis Amasa Walker.

The Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, having been called on, said:—

Mr. Chairman,—I feel that there is great difficulty in speaking to-day in commemoration of Mr. Pierce, not because his services to the public and his friends require detailed description and illustration as being recondite and unperceived, or because his character requires elaborate and careful analysis, but for the very contrary reason. Within a week after his death, the newspapers throughout the country had told the story of his life and his worth, and every one knew what he was and what he had done in his noble simplicity almost as well as his intimate friends. I have very little to add, Mr. Chairman, even if I am one of those under the deepest obligations to him in public and private life,—yet how large that number was!—to these words of well-deserved eulogy with which the whole land is now familiar. That, beginning with nothing, he created a very large fortune by enterprise and industry, in an interesting and useful manufacture, without a cloud of suspicion upon the way he made it; that this wealth, so honorably won, was distributed with equal good sense and good feeling from day to day, and that by his will his friends and the community are to share in an uncommon munificence; that he passed easily from private into public life, being naturally and inevitably selected for one distinguished political position after another, always, at each step in his course, bettering his friends' expectation and his own record; that, having early formed decided convictions on the great problems of national politics, he maintained his views through storm and calm, through sympathy and opposition, with a firmness that resisted all allurements, yet with a frankness and good nature that disarmed all enmity; that, while true to the expectations of his constituents and his associates, he was not only no slave to party, but more than once rose superior to all partisan considerations with an independence of which few examples can be found in all our history; that, when called and recalled to the Chief Magistracy of Boston, he exercised that office with a vigor and purity which will

stand as an example for all future administrations, and recalled the best traditions of our earlier mayors; that in all these public offices he never forgot the most sacred duties of private friendship, and that he lived in an unclouded atmosphere of courtesy, heartiness, and overflowing generosity, — all these things, I say, Mr. Chairman, were obvious to every one who had the slightest knowledge of Mr. Pierce, and have already been proclaimed in all clearness of detail to the country. I will try to add only some notice of what I believe to have been the crowning strength and beauty of his nature.

It seems to me, then, that Mr. Pierce was straightforward, single-minded, sincere, and simple in all he said and did to a marked and unusual degree. It has often struck me that it is a national defect in our American character, that we are always viewing things by sidelights and afterthoughts, that when our minds are made up, or ought to be made up, as to what to do or to say according to the best instructions of conscience, of interest, of good feeling, we begin to be troubled by fears, by doubts, by considering too curiously how ourselves or others may be affected by some secondary, some indirect result, — we are, as it were, always looking over one or the other shoulder to see if angel or demon cannot offer some suggestion which shall modify our sincere and single-minded emotions and convictions. I do not mean that these afterthoughts are necessarily base or cruel, — they constantly arise from tenderness of conscience, from delicate regard for others, — but they defeat their own object even when it is most valuable, — “the native hue of resolution is sicklied o’er” by these sidelong tremors and doubts, — our action is impeded by the very thoroughness of our reflections and motives, and we stand at a positive disadvantage with men of other countries, because when they know what to say and do they go ahead and do it without considering too curiously what may result.

Now, our lamented friend was singularly free from this sensitive feebleness. His whole nature was plain and straightforward. He did not act without due deliberation and due regard to all interests and persons; but when he plainly saw the right thing to do or to say, he went on and did and said that thing, not worrying himself about possible contingencies, but trusting to his judgment and his conviction of

right to prove its propriety, if proof it needed. There was a sense of reality and simplicity in his presence which was like a fresh breeze in comparison with the close and sickly atmosphere of our too artificial and worrying life, even as the best men lead it. He stood in one's sight like a pure mountain-peak, which rises in absolute clearness out of the fogs and vapors which gather round its base. These fogs and vapors may be very delicate in their shifting forms,— they may take on a very charming hue from rising or setting sun,— but they are the products of a low, dank soil, and can never strengthen or purify the heart or the soul. One felt, after talking to him, that duty and friendship were simpler things than one had fancied; that if one could once see rightly and feel rightly, the word and act that carried out the conviction would come of themselves.

It was this lofty and pure straightforwardness and single-mindedness that I would impress upon his associates to-day,— that I would impress upon the young men who will naturally look to him as a type of success in business and in politics. There have been other examples of mercantile energy and shrewdness, other examples of political purity and generous friendship; but very, very seldom will our rising men find any one to look to who presents such an unsullied example of a sincere and serene rectitude. We can commend Mr. Pierce's example without reservation,— there is nothing to apologize for, no afterthought lurking in the folds of his life; without reservation, except that he always estimated himself less highly than did those who knew him, and, generous in everything else, did not give his fellow-citizens their full share in the merits which he alone appreciated below their true value.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN said:—

I cannot be expected to add much to the brilliant analysis of character given by my friend who has just spoken, but a few plain words of personal regard are never out of place. Henry L. Pierce has always seemed to me one of the best products of a New England lineage and training. He was not "born to the purple," but he won his high position in the community by his own unerring business sagacity, his unswerving integrity, and his cool, well-balanced judgment. In



manner he was plain, simple-hearted, and retiring, but he was a man of great firmness of character and of a strong individuality. He never sought for himself political distinction, he rather shrank from it, for his taste was ever for a quiet social and business life ; but the people knew they could trust him, and he was repeatedly advanced by their votes to high positions in the State and city. The people's confidence was well placed, for he dedicated himself to the public good, and filled every station to which he was called with sturdy independence, and with an unfaltering devotion to what he believed to be right and true. He had rare political and moral courage, and he added to it a certain innate shrewdness which enabled him to cope skilfully with all the forces which our political methods bring into play. He was not much of a politician, but he was a good deal of a Yankee: it was never safe for dishonest men to endeavor to deceive him. Perhaps one of the strongest instances of his courage and independence was exhibited at the time of the Tilden-Hayes contest for the Presidency, when, although serving as a Republican member of Congress, he made up his mind that the election in Louisiana was so permeated with fraud that the electoral vote should not be counted for either party, and acting upon that opinion, notwithstanding powerful party pressure, he voted to exclude it. He knew full well that the result would be the election of Mr. Tilden, whom his party opposed, but he would not swerve from his convictions of right. It was my good fortune to converse with him upon the subject immediately after the adjournment of Congress, and I was much impressed with the thoroughness with which he had studied the situation, and his clear, businesslike view of the whole matter. In 1884, satisfied that his party was pursuing a wrong course, he opposed the election of Mr. Blaine, and from that time was in practical alliance with the opposite party, until the recent election in 1896, when, as all his life before, he followed his conscience for the country's good. He was not an orator ; but many eloquent speakers, whose burning words have failed to influence their hearers, may well have envied the power of conviction which his few plain sentences carried with them, delivered, as they were, calmly, and in the simplest manner. All who listened to him knew that he spoke from the heart, but it was with a distinctness and force gained

from a wide experience of the world's affairs. Though fond of books and interested in gathering at his home a large and well-selected library, he could hardly be called a literary man; but he keenly enjoyed the society of literary men, and he could bring to them not a little by his directness of thought and excellent good sense.

Of his charities no one need speak here, — Boston has been too recently the recipient of his noble bounty to make it necessary to recall it, — but to his private and less known benevolence I may allude; for there are vast numbers of people who have reason to mourn his loss, sharers for years of his liberality and kindness. No good object ever appealed to him in vain, and no man among us has used his wealth with greater wisdom and benefit. But to know Henry L. Pierce one had to sit down with him in his own home, — to converse with him in the easy, social way he loved, — for there alone could his quiet humor, and his practical knowledge, and clear judgment of men and events be truly felt and appreciated. Few men have had warmer friends, and few have better deserved them; for his nature was kindly and sympathetic, and there was a quiet homeliness about him irresistibly attractive. He was always sincere and genuine, without the slightest ostentation or false pride.

Boston has been fortunate in many such lives, for it is, after all, to such men that we must look for the future of the State and the nation. To them more than to those who fill high office or manipulate party movements, will it be given to strengthen our institutions and hold our people true to the best ideals and the highest citizenship. The force of the living example of Henry L. Pierce was beyond estimate, and his memory will long continue to be a powerful aid to right thinking and honest doing in this community.

In response to the call of the Vice-President, Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL said: —

It is fortunately seldom that this Society is called upon to mourn the loss of a member taken away in the flood-tide of life. But President Walker had never appeared stronger, more vigorous, or more active than he was ten days ago. On Sunday, December 27, he took the train to New York to

attend a meeting of the American Historical Association; from there he went to Washington to a meeting of the American Statistical Association. He had intended to be present at a meeting of the American Economic Association at Baltimore, but was delayed in New York by the unwelcome report that the President-elect had selected him to go abroad in the interest of international bimetallism. On Monday, January 4, the day before his death, he was hard at work again at the Institute of Technology. These last days were a sample of the tireless activity of his whole life. It is impossible to conceive of him as ever growing old, as ever losing his energy and force, his joy in work, or his overflowing affection for his many friends. He was one of those men who are destined to wear themselves out at work and die in harness.

His life of fifty-six years was crowded full of many things. Graduating from college just before the outbreak of the Civil War, the first years of his manhood were spent in the army. For the next four or five years he was engaged in teaching and journalism until he was put at the head of the National Bureau of Statistics, and ultimately was given charge of the United States Census. In 1872 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, a post which he held until the completion of his second Census, that of 1880. This is not the time or the place for an estimate of the value of his work in economics and statistics, but the wide reputation they gave him and the measure in which they were appreciated on the other side of the Atlantic are shown by the fact that he was one of the half-dozen American members of the Institute of France.

In 1881, at the age of forty-one, he was made President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and although the phenomenal growth of that school during the fifteen years of his administration cannot be attributed to any single cause, it is unquestionably due in large measure to his enthusiasm and his determination to seize every possibility of improvement, and place the Institute on a level in all points with the best polytechnic schools in the world. The more material growth of the school in these years was, indeed, extraordinary. When he came it occupied a single building, where three hundred and forty-one students were taught by thirty-nine instructors. When he died it had four buildings, besides the

workshops and the gymnasium, and its roll of members included more than one hundred and fifty instructors and twelve hundred students; while in the various branches of engineering it had earned a reputation so high that young men were studying there last year not only from all parts of the United States, but from Canada, Cuba, Venezuela, Chili, Brazil, England, Spain, Turkey, Japan, and Australia. During all the time he was at the Institute he was constantly writing on many subjects, economic, military, and historical, and this he did with furious energy. He would cover sheet after sheet with marvellous rapidity, and throw them on the floor for some one else to gather and arrange. But in spite of the many interests that crowded and jostled in his mind, he never seemed hurried. He always found leisure to see visitors in his office near the door of the Rogers Building, and always made them feel that he was glad to see them, and that their business was as important as any that he had on hand.

Nor does this complete the tale of his labors, for he served in public positions of many kinds, on boards, committees, and societies of the most divergent sorts. It was, in fact, characteristic of his exuberant nature that he found it easier to say Yes than No. If he undertook at times more work than was wise, and more than even his strength and rapidity could fully compass, this came from his enthusiasm for all efforts for the public good, and from his genial feeling for other men. His sympathy was keen, and he heartily enjoyed meeting his fellows both socially and in working for a common end. He had a true affection and esteem for those with whom he was brought in contact, and inspired a like feeling in return. Few men in our community have been more widely loved and admired than he; and if the usefulness of a man may be measured by the gap he leaves behind him, the place left vacant by General Walker's death is the best memorial of his life.

Mr. JOHN C. ROPES, having been asked to speak of General Walker's military life, said:—

In what I have to say about the late General Walker's military experience, I speak, of course, from what I have heard from those who served with him. I was not in the army myself.

He was twenty-one years old when he got his first commission, and left the service shortly before he was twenty-five. He was, almost from the very first, a staff-officer, and was never in direct command of troops. His services as a staff-officer were exceedingly valuable, according to all accounts. He was first attached to the military family of General Couch, one of our most gallant and able officers, a graduate of West Point, and a native of Massachusetts, a man who distinguished himself as long as he was given an active command. Walker made the Peninsular Campaign with Couch, who commanded a division in the Fourth Corps, then under General Keyes; he was in the thick of the battle of Fair Oaks, the principal engagement in that campaign in which the Fourth Corps took an active part; and it was a battle in which Couch showed conspicuous bravery and capacity.

In the autumn of 1862 he was transferred to the headquarters of the Second Corps, where he remained, serving under Sumner, Couch, Warren, and Hancock, until the 25th of August, 1864, when he was captured, at the defeat suffered by that corps at Ream's Station, south of Petersburg, Virginia.

He was in all the battles of the Army of the Potomac during this time, except that of Gettysburg, from which he was absent, as a wound which he had received at Chancellorsville, two months before, had not then healed.

General Walker brought to the duties of an assistant adjutant-general (for that was his office) great faithfulness, untiring industry, an excellent power of systematic management of affairs, perfect temper, and strict habits of subordination. He was, as I have been informed by one of his comrades on the staff, always pleasant and courteous, but very intent upon the performance of his duties. He was perhaps somewhat formal, and was certainly very exact in all that he did. The social side of his character, so conspicuous in his later life, was not prominent at this period. He was, however, well liked and greatly respected. The work of his office was conducted with the utmost promptness and thoroughness. He himself was a model of exactness.

The duties of the adjutant-general of a large army-corps are necessarily very exacting and laborious, and require absolute devotion; and Walker gave himself entirely to their perform-

ance. No doubt it was in this hard school that he acquired the faculty of administration of large affairs which he afterwards exhibited on such a conspicuous scale in his management of the Institute of Technology.

His relations with General Hancock — himself a most exact, careful, and methodical officer — were always of the pleasantest character. Hancock was not a man to make allowances; he expected everything to be done, and to be done at the proper time; he was a most laborious worker himself, and he expected his staff to share the labors of military administration with him. In Walker he found a willing subordinate, — or even, we might say, coadjutor, — and never was Hancock disappointed in the nature and extent of the service which he expected from his adjutant-general.

While the work done by a staff-officer can never be so well known to the public as that done by an officer in command of troops, it is, as we all know, of the first importance to success in war that the duties of the staff shall be performed with ability and punctuality and accuracy. General Walker was a model in all these respects, and his services were appreciated, not only by all his superior officers, and especially by General Hancock, but by all the officers who had dealings with the head-quarters of the corps in the two years during which he served as its adjutant-general, and he was known in the army as one of the best adjutant-generals in the service.

General Walker had a well-won reputation for bravery in the presence of the enemy. At Chancellorsville he was wounded in the left hand, — a painful and severe wound. At Ream's Station he was constantly under fire, and was finally captured.

He served throughout the whole War with distinguished gallantry and ability, and was undoubtedly, at the early age of twenty-five, a marked man, — one of those certain to be selected for difficult and responsible duties. From time to time he was placed in important positions, and in every one of them he so acquitted himself that his next step was to a more exalted and conspicuous place, until he was at last placed in charge of the leading institution in this country devoted to the application of science to the arts of life.

Mr. James M. Bugbee was appointed to write the memoir of Mr. Pierce for publication in the Proceedings; and it was

stated that the announcement with regard to the memoir of General Walker would be made at the next meeting.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then announced the deaths of two Corresponding Members, Gen. John Meredith Read, who died in Paris, France, December 27, 1896; and Mr. Horatio Hale, who died in Clinton, Canada, December 28, 1896.

Thomas C. Mendenhall, LL.D., of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member; and Rev. Dr. George P. Fisher, of New Haven, Connecticut, a Corresponding Member.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN read the following paper on a large mass of miscellaneous documents recently transferred to the custody of the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court:—

Many years ago there came into the possession of the Historical Society a large mass of miscellaneous papers, which were never arranged or catalogued, as they were not considered worth the trouble. At one time evidently they had belonged to the Suffolk Court files, where they were the counterpart of similar papers now in the keeping of the county. They consisted largely of law blanks which had been filled in by a court officer, or were connected otherwise with the administration of law; and without exception they related to matters before the beginning of the present century. There is no record to show exactly when these papers came into the possession of the Society, but a probable date is learned indirectly from other papers.

Among the gifts to this Library, as acknowledged in the Collections (third series, I. 297), published in 1825, were certain "MSS. of James Otis, Esq.," from William Tudor, a member of this Society. It will be recalled that Mr. Tudor wrote a Life of the Revolutionary patriot; and presumably these papers were placed in his hands with reference to the preparation of that work. Furthermore his father, William Tudor, was Clerk of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth from the year 1810 until his death, which took place on July 8, 1819. As a clew to the source whence this mass of miscellaneous papers was received, I mention these two facts, as possibly, if not probably, the collection was included in the aforesaid gift. Among the manuscripts of the Library are three volumes marked on the back "Otis Papers," with the dates "1701-1757," "1758-1769," and "1770-1800," respec-

tively, which were bound in 1856. These Papers include many personal letters to members of the family, and evidently were culled out as the choicest of the mass.

There are also in the Library seven volumes of manuscripts marked on the back "Letters and Papers," extending over the years 1632-1824, which were bound in 1838; and six other volumes lettered on the back "Miscellaneous Papers," extending over the years 1628-185, which were bound in 1856. These thirteen volumes all contain very many papers of a similar character to the miscellaneous collection previously referred to, and without doubt came for the most part from the same source. The papers in the first series of these volumes were arranged in files probably by Rev. Dr. Joseph B. Felt, but the final selection was made by Rev. Dr. Thaddeus M. Harris; and the papers in the second series were selected and arranged by Dr. John Appleton. (See Proceedings, II. 121; III. 86, 159, for allusions to these several volumes.)

Among the files of the Society's official correspondence is the rough draft of a letter, dated May 22, 1838, from Rev. Dr. Thaddeus M. Harris, at that time Librarian, and Corresponding Secretary *pro tempore*, to Dr. Martin Gay, which seems to throw additional light on the matter. Dr. Harris writes: —

The Box of papers of the Otis family was deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Library, with the permission of making such selections from them as would subserve the interests of the Institution. That selection was made, before I was appointed Librarian; and I am informed that it comprised only a very few. The great mass consisted, principally, of the common files of a Lawyer's office, such as Writs, Executions, depositions, letters from Clients, litigations wth the Indians; shipping papers on the fisheries & whaling voyages &c &c. together wth letters of a merely personal concern. I have not, indeed, examined them; but learn that as this was the case, the descendants of the former possessors had better resume them. I was, therefore, glad when a request was made me to deliver them to the order of your Mother [a daughter of Joseph Otis, of West Barnstable]. They are now returned: but in doing it, I feel in duty bound to render thanks for the confidence placed in us, & the favour shewn us by the liberty of selection, and to assure you that it was restricted solely to such papers as related to facts or events of a general & public nature, which might prove useful as documents, & these have been bound up with others of a similar character, to be preserved among historical Memoirs.

This extract from Dr. Harris's letter describes the mass of these papers so closely that it leaves but little doubt as to the source of the gift; and it would seem that, if returned at that time to Mr. Otis's family, they afterward came back again to the Society. According to a statement in the Proceedings (II. 45 *note*), only those papers "of a more private nature" were returned, which was probably the fact.

During the Society's occupation of the former building on this site these papers were kept in a chest or box, and I remember on one occasion when the roof began to leak from the accumulation of snow that they were badly damaged; and traces of the mishap remain to this day. In the present building they were stored in the cellar until the year 1882, when they were taken from the chest, and each paper brushed and straightened out. They were then tied up in twenty large bundles, each one containing perhaps a thousand pieces.

From notes made by Dr. Felt on various papers in this miscellaneous mass as well as in the bound volumes, it is clear that many of them, and presumably all, passed through his hands and were examined by him. He was Librarian from December 29, 1836, to October 26, 1837, as well as at a later period; and the examination was made by him probably in the year 1837. A note at the bottom of the page in the Proceedings (II. 121) confirms this theory.

I state these facts in some detail partly to show the way in which the Library came into the possession of the three volumes of "Otis Papers," the seven volumes of "Letters and Papers," and the six volumes of "Miscellaneous Papers," as mentioned above, and to put them on record, but more particularly to explain the following vote of the Council passed on April 9 last:—

It was voted that certain Court files of the last century, which originally were in Mr. Tudor's possession, be transmitted to the Suffolk Court House, and the Librarian and Mr. Upham were appointed a committee to transfer them, with the proviso that, if any duplicate is among them, it be retained here.

In accordance with this vote Mr. Upham and myself have made another sifting of these papers, and have selected 382 pieces, — none of them duplicates, however, — enough to fill two additional volumes to the series of "Otis Papers." While

threshing out the old straw, a few grains of wheat have been found, which may be mentioned under the following heads:—

Ten papers (1691–1722) in the handwriting of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, including three with his signature only.

Ninety-eight (1659–1771) on account of the handwriting or signatures of persons connected more or less with early New England history.

Forty-three (1656–1779) kept for their connection with historical subjects in general.

Ten (1746–1759) relating to the French and Indian War, and seven concerning the Indians.

Seventeen (1774–1780) relating to the Revolutionary War.

Fourteen (1726–1771) selected for the seals and embossed stamps.

One hundred and ten (1725–1795) relating indirectly to members of the Otis family.

Sixty-eight (1661–1774) miscellaneous papers, besides five carefully repaired by Mr. Upham, and noted by him in his remarks before the Society at the last November meeting. (See pages 182–184.)

It is not easy now to explain the drift of many of these papers into this mixed mass, but it is evident that they came from sources other than the Court records. I am inclined to accept Mr. Upham's view that the tradition in regard to the storage of the collection as a whole in the Old South Meeting-house during the siege of Boston, is confirmed by the appearance of many single papers.

Among the ninety-eight papers, mentioned under the second heading, are two which are worth printing.

The first one of these, the date of which is gone, relates to a petition of Samuel Whiting, the minister of Lynn and an Overseer of Harvard College, presented to the Colonial authorities. The time, however, is learned from the printed "Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay" (IV. Part I. 406), — edited by our late associate Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, — where the petition is mentioned in the proceedings of the General Court under date of November 12, 1659. The action of the Magistrates and Deputies is given in the margin of the paper, though a portion of this record is gone; but it may be filled out in part from the printed entry. The following is a copy of the paper, as well as of the writing in the margin:—

To y^e Honoured Gov. Deputie Gov. with the rest
of y^e Magistrates & Deputies of this Honoured
General Court now assembled in Boston.

The humble Petition of Samuel Whiting sheweth, y^t in y^e beginning of this plantation my Brother m^r John Whiting Alderman in Boston in y^e county of Lincolne did disburse fifty pounds for this countrey, & he was promised to have five hundred acres of land here. & about y^e time y^t I came ouer hither, he spake to me of it as y^t w^h he expected to be made good according to y^e engagement made to him by those y^t had to doe in y^e transactions of y^e countrey, & did receiue y^e monny. But vntil this time I haue made no motion about it but haue let y^e businesse rest till now. Also y^t my Brother M^r Richard Westland Alderman in y^e same Towne who married my wiues Sister did lay out y^e same sūme of monny for y^e countrey, to whome y^e same promise was made. Now your humble Petitioner hearing of y^e ffauour of this Honoured Court towards many others y^t haue sollicitated & sued for things of y^e like nature, in granting their requests, is bold to make sute to this Honoured Court y^t there may be y^e like smile & fauourable aspect vpon these few lines on their behalfe, y^t I may haue a portion of land assigned to me in some convenient place yet vndisposed of. so shall your Petitioner (as alwaies before, so) for y^e future, become a suter at y^e throne of grace y^t y^e Lord may be among you & blesse you & carry on all your weighty affaires for y^e glory of his blessed name, y^e happinesse of y^e Countrey, & y^e furthering of your owne blessed account in y^e last and great day.

A place y^t i[]

In Ans^r to y^e petiçon of
his brother m^r John W[
hundred acres of land [
sajd John Whittings land at [
Court Graunts his Petiçon [
said John Whiting & Richard Westland and there [
lands as are taken vp by or [

Vera Copi[

[Indorsed] m^r Whittings pet
Entrd wth y^e Magists
& nothing due

En^t Court Record
Octo. 29

En^t 1659

The other paper is as follows : —

This may certify all whom it may concern, that William Sumner, John Goffe, Thomas Barker, John Barnard, William Way, Jonas Clark Ju^r, & Henry Dawson, are members in full communion wth the second church in Boston, And that their conversation hath bin as becometh the Gospell. As is attested by me

INCREASE MATHER

Boston. May . 11 . 1678.

Agreeably to the Council's vote, as given above, this mass of miscellaneous papers has recently been transferred to the keeping of the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, who has given a receipt for the same under date of December 15, 1896.

Mr. GEORGE S. HALE presented a large collection of pamphlets, etc., on the currency, which had been issued during the late presidential campaign, and also some mounted specimens of French assignats and of Confederate States bills.

Mr. WILLIAM R. THAYER read a paper on age as an element in political revolutions, as follows : —

Youth and Revolutions.

During the recent presidential campaign much stress was laid on the extreme youth of one of the candidates. Indeed, Mr. Bryan enjoyed the nickname "Boy Orator," and roused the sympathy of such persons as instinctively side with the young, because they are young, without weighing their qualifications. We may add that he also enjoyed, to an almost unparalleled degree, the privilege of garrulity, popularly supposed to be reserved for old age. A candidate who thus availed himself of the perquisites of the antipodal periods of life might well defy criticism; and I do not intend to criticise Mr. Bryan or his doctrines. To do so would violate the wholesome tradition of this Society that the lava-stream of politics must cool and petrify into history before it can be handled by us. But I wish to record that the Boy Orator in question was over thirty-six years old, and to group a few facts concerning age as an element in political revolutions that may be worth considering.

Technically, perhaps, we ought to count thirty-six as boyhood, or even as infancy, in presidential candidates; for the Constitution limits their minimum age to thirty-five, and a candidate of thirty-six is only one year old in eligibility. A brief survey of several of the most important crises of modern times may help us to determine how far experience has justified the Framers of the Constitution in drawing the line between youth and maturity at thirty-five, and how far ability to work great changes in the destiny of nations has, by refusing to manifest itself at a given age, mocked our attempt to discover a general law. Those of us who are nearer forty than thirty-five may meanwhile take a new lease of life, so to speak, when we hear anybody of thirty-six dubbed a boy: what better proof could we desire that the increase in human longevity, which statisticians have for some time demonstrated, has come to be taken for granted by the public? A century ago William Pitt was deemed mature enough to be prime minister of England before he had completed his twenty-fourth year; now we look upon a presidential candidate of thirty-six as precociously young. If this difference could be assumed to prevail throughout the population, then it would follow that the average longevity has increased nearly one-third. But this is matter for men of figures to settle, and to them I leave it.

From the remotest times men have assigned certain definite attributes to each of the great seasons of human life, regarding passion and energy as characteristic of youth, and prudence and wisdom of age. Youth is lighted by ideals; age by experience. Youth seeks to innovate; age to preserve. Youth, in glorious confidence, would dare everything to-day; age, with its disillusion and knowledge, regrets yesterday, distrusts to-day, and cautiously provides for to-morrow.

In the field of art, where imagination and passion rule, this distinction has so often been illustrated as hardly to need mention now. Among painters, for instance, Masaccio died at thirty, Giorgione at thirty-four, Raphael at thirty-seven; among musicians, Schubert had finished his work at thirty-one, Mozart at thirty-five, Chopin at forty; among poets, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Leopardi, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Hugo had produced masterpieces before they were twenty-five. In theology and philosophy, on the other hand,

we seek instruction from maturity, with its trained powers of reasoning, its supposed impartiality, its critical faculty enriched by experience. And indeed most philosophers and theologians have produced their weightiest works in middle life, or later; although there are exceptions to this rule that will occur to everybody as warnings against attempting to shut youth out from pre-eminence in these fields also. For George Berkeley published his "Theory of Vision" in his twenty-fourth year; John Calvin completed, at twenty-six, his "Institutio,"—that theological nightmare which, having terrified millions during three centuries, still drives victims to the insane asylums. At thirty-four, Luther nailed his theses to the door of the Wittenberg church; the same age at which the gentlest and most revolutionary of revolutionists was crucified.

It has been a long-standing belief that the art of government, likewise, should be intrusted to the mature; because it requires for its successful practice judgment, steadiness, self-control, knowledge of men, pliancy without weakness, and perseverance without obstinacy,—qualities, in short, which belong to the October rather than to the May of life.

Under normal conditions, when governments run on comparatively free from violent disturbances, it will be found that the average age of their members falls well into middle life. But how has it been in crises, when great movements culminate, or new systems supersede old? Are revolutions examples of passion on a national scale, because they are swayed by men at that period of life when passions sway individuals?

Let us glance at the five most important upheavals of modern times, beginning with the English Revolution of 1640, which was properly the first to have a popular political, as distinguished from a dynastic, character.

When the Long Parliament met in 1640, Pym unquestionably led the party which in the course of a few months showed that war alone could settle its contest with King Charles. Pym was then fifty-six. Hampden, the next in reputation and influence, was ten years younger; but Fairfax was only twenty-nine, and Vane only twenty-eight. Bradshaw was fifty-four. Oliver Cromwell, the man whom the tests of council and of camp were soon to set above all his associates, the



greatest man that ever ruled England, had just celebrated his forty-first birthday. John Milton, who became the Secretary of the Commonwealth, was thirty-two. On the opposite side, King Charles himself was forty; Archbishop Laud, sixty-seven; Strafford, fifty-seven; Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, thirty-two; and Falkland, next to Sir Philip Sidney, the most attractive of scholar-knights, was just thirty. From these instances, it will be seen that the leaders were fairly matched in age, and that the revolution cannot be regarded as the onslaught of a generation of young men upon a generation of old ones.

Coming next to our American Revolution, and taking 1775 as the date of its beginning, although it began in spirit a dozen years earlier, we find that the men who either forced or soon directed the crisis were far from immature. George Washington was forty-three; but Benjamin Franklin, who stood as the very patriarch of Americanism, was sixty-nine, and Samuel Adams, the indefatigable agitator of liberty in this part of the country, was already fifty-three. John Hancock, who should forever be held up to school-children as the supreme example of how a handsome signature can help to secure immortality for patriotism, was forty-eight; John Adams was forty, and Patrick Henry thirty-nine. Only one of this memorable group had not reached middle life; he, Thomas Jefferson, one of the most striking of all the world's wise young men, had lately completed his thirty-second year. We ought not to omit from this reckoning Thomas Paine, whose political pamphlets had an enormous influence in precipitating the thoughts of the colonists in such form as to make the issue plain, and who was thirty-eight when the embattled farmers drove back the British from Concord. Fifteen of the foremost signers of the Declaration of Independence in the following year averaged forty-three years old, the average being raised by Franklin's seventy, and lowered by Dr. Rush's thirty-one years. So far as these figures signify, therefore, they mean that the men who wrought our national independence were not hot-heads, but mature, in the very prime of life, combining the impetuosity of the fourth decade with the prudence and foresight of the seventh.

Very different the facts concerning the French Revolution, which looms up as a terrific warning against the fury, the



inexperience, the fanaticism of youth. In 1789, when the States-General met, Mirabeau, the one man of genius in that upheaval, was forty. The sowers of the seed, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvétius, were all dead; dead, too, was Turgot, who alone in the years preceding the catastrophe seems to have had proper notions of the way to reform France without a calamity, and talents to carry them out, had he been given a chance. But in 1789 Mirabeau, only forty years old, — and, since he lacked experience in government, to be counted much younger, — was the oldest of the men who seemed to control circumstances. Louis XVI. himself was but thirty-five; Marie Antoinette, but thirty-four; and Lafayette, whom they relied on for a moment to steer them through the rapids, was only thirty-two. Turning to the Radicals, the men bent on wrecking the old galleon of monarchy, we come upon still more startling immaturity. Danton, Vergniaud, Robespierre, were only thirty; Camille Desmoulins was twenty-seven; Chaumette, twenty-six; Saint-Just, twenty-one; Tallien, twenty. And yet the elders, from whom more moderation might be expected, if anything, exceeded these in frenzy. Fouquier-Tinville was forty-two; Marat thirty-five, Hébert thirty-four, and Couthon thirty-three. Finally, Napoleon Bonaparte, the residuary legatee of the Revolution, had hardly rounded out his twentieth year when it began, and was only twenty-six when by his whiff of grape-shot he dispersed the sections on the 13th Vendémiaire.

Why should the French Revolution have been piloted by men averaging ten years younger than those who guided our American Revolution? If it be possible to generalize intelligently in a matter involving many complex causes, I should say that the chief difference lay not in the difference of temperament in the two races, nor in the different objects sought, so much as in the fact that the Americans had had long training in political debate, whereas the French had had none. Most of the delegates to our Continental Congress had been tested by their respective constituencies before being intrusted with the destiny of the Colonies. The members of the States-General and of the successive Assemblies, on the contrary, had never been tested. Thrown among a body of men equally inexperienced, where every one was mad to talk, and where, so great was the turmoil, only those who talked loudest or

proposed the wildest schemes could get a hearing, no wonder that they quickly unleashed a hurricane.

But, as if to illustrate the truth which no historian can safely ignore, that apparently similar causes do not always produce the same results, the Revolution of 1848 in Italy was not, like the French Revolution, stamped by the immaturity of its promoters and leaders. Massimo d'Azeglio, then the most popular of the champions of Liberalism, was fifty; Gioberti, that strange mixture of philosopher, statesman, and visionary, was forty-seven; Rattazzi, the head of the Piedmontese Radicals, was forty, born the same year with Mazzini, the very mouthpiece of Republicanism, not only in Italy but throughout Europe; Manin, the most spotless of dictators, was forty-four, a year younger than his colleague, Tommaseo, and of the same age as Guerrazzi, the dictator in Tuscany. Garibaldi was forty-one; Ricasoli thirty-nine; Mamiani, the centre of Liberalism in Rome, forty-eight; Poerio, the embodiment of legal revolution in Naples, was forty-five. Minghetti alone, of all the prominent Liberals, could be called young; he was thirty. It would take too long to discuss why these Italian leaders of 1848 averaged ten years older than the French Revolutionists of 1789; suffice it at this time to state the fact, and to turn to the last case from which I shall draw illustrations, the American Rebellion of 1861.

The men who, North or South, fought out in Congress the preliminary stages of that inevitable conflict, were not the men who faced the crisis in 1861. The generation of preparers ended about 1850, when Webster, Clay, and Calhoun disappeared from the scene. It was in the decade between 1850 and 1860 that the leaders of the new generation came to the front. The Republican party, organized in 1854, was unquestionably a party of young men; but those who, in 1861, directed its councils, and gradually drew into a compact and conquering host all who believed in preserving the Union or in abolishing slavery, or both, can by no means be called juvenile. In 1861 Abraham Lincoln was fifty-two years old; Seward was sixty; Stanton, forty-seven; Chase, fifty-three; Andrew, forty-three; Sumner, fifty; Wilson, forty-nine; Hamlin, fifty-three; Dix, sixty-three. William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips — two mighty forces — were respectively fifty-six and fifty; Horace Greeley also was fifty, and Henry

Ward Beecher forty-eight. Nor should we forget to reckon in Emerson (fifty-eight) and James Russell Lowell (forty-two), whose influence on the young men who enlisted in the war can never be over-estimated. Striking an average of the ages of all these here enumerated, we find it to be above fifty.

And the same maturity appears when we pass over to examine the leading men of the South. In 1861 Jefferson Davis was fifty-three, — a year older than Lincoln, and a year younger than Robert E. Lee; Alexander H. Stephens and Judah P. Benjamin were forty-nine. Tombs was fifty-one; Floyd, fifty-six; J. C. Breckenridge, forty; Yancey, forty-seven; Slidell, sixty-three.

To sum up, then, we have found that in the English Revolution of 1640, in the American Revolution of 1775, and in the Italian Revolution of 1848, the average age of the leaders was about forty; while in the French Revolution of 1789 it was only thirty, and in our Rebellion it was over fifty. Can we draw any logical inference from these details? I think we can; and it is this: The age at which men attain to leadership increases in proportion to the spread of parliamentary government. This need not imply that there is a growing tendency to distrust young men as such; but it certainly indicates how, under the constitutional system, longer time being required for passing through the lower grades of office, the average successful statesman reaches eminence at a later age; for now the lower grades cannot be skipped. Under these conditions even the most important revolution cannot explode suddenly; because, before coming to the dynamic stage, it must go through the proverbially slow course of parliamentary discussion. The French Revolution owed its volcanic rush to the fact that there existed in France no adequate system of public discussion by which some of the passion could have found vent, and wise instead of wild leaders could have been gradually selected.

I do not believe that the application of so-called scientific methods to history can ever make history a science, and therefore I regard prophecy as being outside of the historian's province; but when agitators proclaim, as they have recently been doing with unbridled assurance, that we are on the verge of another revolution, greater than any in the past, — a revolution

which in some miraculous, unexplained manner is to strap us all into the strait-jackets of Socialism, — we can at least take courage in the thought that so long as we maintain in vigorous operation our constitutional system, whatever revolution may come cannot come suddenly, nor will it be captained by immaturity.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH communicated, in behalf of Mr. George S. Merriam, who was absent, the memoir of the late Judge Shurtleff, which Mr. Merriam had been appointed to prepare for the Proceedings.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, HENRY W. HAYNES, and EDWARD L. PIERCE, besides additional remarks by Messrs. SAMUEL A. GREEN, A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, WINSLOW WARREN, and JOHN C. ROPES, in connection with Mr. Thayer's paper.

M E M O I R
OF
WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF, A. M.
BY GEORGE S. MERRIAM.

WILLIAM STEELE SHURTLEFF was born at Newburg, New York, February 17, 1830. He was the son of Roswell and Clara Gleason Shurtleff, being the seventh in direct descent from William Shurtleff (early called Shirecliffe), of Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, England, who came with the Pilgrims in the next vessel after the "Mayflower." When the boy was nine years old, the family removed from Rochester to Springfield, Massachusetts, which was always afterward his home. He was taught in a private school, and afterward attended Williston Seminary, Easthampton. He entered the Class of 1854 at Yale, but did not graduate, being given the degree of M. A. in 1866, when he was restored to his class.

On leaving college he studied law in the office of George Ashmun, then at the height of his fame, and at the Harvard Law School. He was admitted to the bar of Hampden County in 1856, forming a partnership with Judge Henry Vose, and, after the latter went on the Superior Court bench, with George Walker, afterward consul-general at Paris. Soon after the War broke out, Mr. Shurtleff entered the army as a private in Company A, Forty-sixth Regiment; but at a company election he was made lieutenant, and at organizing the field and staff was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. After three months' service in the field, he was advanced to the colonelcy. Upon his return from service, Governor Andrew, in 1863, appointed Colonel Shurtleff Judge of Probate and Insolvency. He had been Register of the Court. He held this judgeship for thirty-three years, until his death, and his record was highly honorable. He was dignified and even-tempered on the bench, closely attentive, and a student of law.

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WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF.

Judge Shurtleff gave Springfield valuable service in the Common Council in 1876, 1877, and 1878, years when great interest centred in the city government. It was at this time that Judge Shurtleff, in association with Samuel Bowles, drafted with great care and skill a charter for the city, on the lines now generally recognized as wise; but the work was rejected at the polls, under the influence of petty politicians. He was identified with many public interests, State and local. As Vice-President of the State Board of Public Reservations, created in 1891, he was an active worker for the preservation of places of historical interest and natural beauty throughout Massachusetts. He was one of the founders of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, and its vice-president. He was also an active director in the City Library Association. His interest in the Grand Army was warm, and he made many addresses throughout the region on Memorial Days.

He developed, comparatively late in life, a predilection for literary expression, and showed abilities that might have given him place as an author had he commanded the leisure to indulge this desire. He wrote readily and gracefully; and in verse, to which especially he addressed his effort in such time as he could spare, he manifested those qualities and an excellent management of rhythm and metre. His most notable production was an Ode on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the town of Springfield. Often his sonnets, though not in regular form, answered in compact phrase and full thought to the ideal of the sonnet spirit; while several of his lyrics were of striking excellence.

Judge Shurtleff was married, November 26, 1857, to Miss Clara Dwight, daughter of George Dwight, of Springfield. They had two daughters, — Mabel, who became the wife of S. Wallace Bowles, and whose death five years before her father was a terrible shock to him, of which he always showed the traces; and Mary Dwight, who with her mother survived him. His residence in late years was in the beautiful suburb of Longmeadow, where he enlarged and enriched a fine old colonial mansion, to which he gave the name of Shirecliff. Here his position was most favorable for combining with his assiduous daily toil the enjoyment of nature, which was with him a passion, and the pleasures of his library.

He was a man of striking appearance; in youth noticeable

in every company, with piercing eyes, dark hair worn in the fashion of that day somewhat long, ruddy complexion, alert air, and vigorous carriage; in the field he was the beau-ideal of the soldier; and when years had bleached his hair and moustache, he was a picture of hale and handsome age. He was distinguished by an enthusiastic temperament, a capacity for friendships, a keen relish for human nature in all its varieties, and a high sense of professional duty blending with delicate kindness for those with whom that duty brought him in contact.

His death came very suddenly, from neuralgia of the heart, January 14, 1896. The community mourned the loss of one of its first citizens; and beyond the wide circle of personal friends there was a general and keen regret for the just and kindly judge, the friend of the widow and orphan.



FEBRUARY MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved, and the list of donors to the Library was also read.

The TREASURER then said that the negotiations for the sale to the city of Boston of the Society's estate on Tremont Street had been completed, and notice had been received of the intention of the city to avail itself of the option to purchase contained in the lease of the two lower floors of the building. Accordingly arrangements had been made, with the approval of the Mayor, for mortgaging the estate to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company for the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, repayable in five years, with interest at the rate of four per cent per annum, and for conveying the estate to the city, subject to said mortgage, upon the receipt of the additional sum of fifty thousand dollars, making the whole amount to be received two hundred thousand dollars in cash. He added that two or three facts might be of interest to the younger members of the Society. The building stands on a part of the confiscated estate of Rev. Dr. Caner, rector of King's Chapel, who went to Halifax on the evacuation of Boston by the British troops in 1776. In March, 1833, the Society bought from the Provident Institution in the Town of Boston, which then owned the estate, what was estimated as one quarter part of the property for the sum of sixty-five hundred dollars. On the removal of the Provident Institution to Temple Place, the Society, in February, 1856, bought the remaining portion of the estate for the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars. In 1872 the old building was taken down, and the present fireproof structure was erected at a cost of upward of sixty-one thousand dollars. The exact sum at which the estate stands on the Treasurer's books is \$103,280.19. Since the Society moved here, more than sixty-three years ago,



from the room over the arch in Franklin Place, where its meetings were held and its library kept for nearly forty years, the occupants of the lower part of the building have been the Provident Institution, the Suffolk Savings Bank, the Probate Court, and the Suffolk Registry of Deeds.¹

After an informal discussion, in which Messrs. WALBRIDGE A. FIELD, CHARLES W. ELIOT, WILLIAM EVERETT, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, EDMUND F. SLAFTER, HENRY G. DENNY, ARTHUR LORD, and the TREASURER took part, the following votes were, on motion of Mr. LORD, unanimously adopted:—

Voted, That the Treasurer of the Society be, and he is hereby, authorized to execute, seal with the corporate seal, acknowledge and deliver in the name and behalf of the Society, a power of sale mortgage of the real estate of the Society on Tremont Street in the city of Boston, to secure the negotiable note of the Society, which said Treasurer is hereby authorized to give in the sum of \$150,000 to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, on such terms and conditions as he and the Council of the Society may approve.

Voted, That the Treasurer of the Society be, and he is hereby, authorized, with the approval of the Council, to execute, seal with the corporate seal, acknowledge and deliver in the name and behalf of the Society, a deed to the city of Boston, conveying the real estate of the Society on Tremont Street in the city of Boston, subject to a mortgage to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company to secure the sum of \$150,000.

The TREASURER then said that in his opinion it would be for the interest of the Society to apply a portion of the money to be received from the sale of this estate to the payment of the mortgage now existing on the Fenway estate, and that he should probably make some further recommendations at a future time. On his motion, it was unanimously —

¹ The indenture between the Provident Institution and the Historical Society, dated March 6, 1833, is printed in the Proceedings, vol. i. pp. 461-463; and some further details connected with the Society's ownership of the estate may be found in the Treasurer's annual report, dated March 31, 1887, printed in 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 291-293.

Voted, That the Treasurer be, and he is hereby, authorized to apply the sum of \$30,000, received from the sale of the Tremont Street estate, to the payment of the mortgage on the Society's Fenway estate.

Rev. Leverett Wilson Spring, D.D., of Williams College, was elected a Resident Member ; and Woodrow Wilson, LL.D., of Princeton University, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Thornton K. Lothrop was appointed to write the memoir of the late Francis A. Walker for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. JAMES F. RHODES then read a paper on the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, of which the following is a brief abstract : —

Emancipation of the slaves as a policy was determined upon by President Lincoln as early as July, 1862; but at the suggestion of Secretary Seward the proclamation was withheld until it could be issued after a military success. In the two months which followed this decision, the President had an opportunity to consider the question on all sides; there being pressure on him from the radicals to strike at slavery, and pressure on him from the conservatives against the adoption of such a course. The apparent inconsistency of Lincoln's expressions at this time is a manner of thinking aloud, to bring up to his mind all the *pros* and *cons* before affixing his hand and seal to an irrevocable edict. To conservatives he argued the radical view, to radicals the conservative side of the question.

The last of August Lee defeated Pope overwhelmingly at the second battle of Bull Run, and threatened Washington, Baltimore, and Harrisburg by his invasion into Maryland, which was one of the results of his signal victory. "When the rebel army was at Frederick" (September 6-10), Lincoln afterwards said, "I determined as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland to issue a proclamation of emancipation. . . . I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself and to my Maker." September 17 the battle of Antietam was fought and won by McClellan. September 22 the momentous cabinet meeting took place. It was the design of the paper to show the incongruity of Lincoln's humor on so solemn an occa-

sion; and the chapter from Artemus Ward's book, "High-handed Outrage at Utica," with the reading of which he prefaced the announcement of his earnest decision, was quoted entirely. After this essay at fun, which the President and all the members of his cabinet except Stanton enjoyed, he fell into a grave tone, and declared his deliberate and zealous purpose to issue a proclamation freeing the slaves. On the morrow, September 23, this edict, this mark of the world's progress, was given to the country.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated the following paper relating to the early history of printing in New England: —

I wish to submit copies of some papers found among the Massachusetts Archives at the State House, which will explain themselves. They consist of documents relating to the early history of printing at Cambridge, and give some new facts connected with the development of that art in New England. Among these manuscripts are two petitions of Marmaduke Johnson, dated at different times, which supplement the remarks made by our late venerable associate, the Reverend Dr. Lucius R. Paige, and published in the Proceedings (XX. 265-268) of this Society for June, 1883.

The signer of these two papers, Marmaduke Johnson, was one of the early printers of the Colony, who came to New England in the year 1660, under the auspices of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. He had been bred a printer and was skilled in the art, and had been sent over by that Corporation in order to help set up Eliot's version of the Bible and to hasten the completion of that great undertaking. His career while at Cambridge did not comport with the strict ideas of his Puritan neighbors, and there was much friction between him and them. He had left a wife in London, and his conduct here did not commend itself to their notions of propriety; though in justice to him I will say that during his troubles the apostle Eliot remained on friendly terms with him.

Johnson's term of engagement as a printer ended in August, 1664; and soon afterward he returned to England, as in both his petitions to the General Court he speaks of coming back to this country in 1665, with his press and type, or "letters,"

as he calls them. It is an interesting fact to know that at that time he brought over another press to Cambridge, which made the third one then in the Colony. Mr. Thomas, in his "History of Printing in America" (I. 273, 274), gives the titles of ten books and pamphlets printed by Johnson alone, which were issued during the period extending from 1665 to 1674. By the light of these petitions it is easy to see why his imprints began with the year 1665, and, as he died in Boston, on December 25, 1674, it is equally clear why they stop at that date. During this decade, however, from time to time he printed several titles in connection with Samuel Green, though probably there was no regular partnership between them. Presumably their presses were set up in the same building, and perhaps in the same room, which might account for their close business relations. At that time Green's press was worked in the Indian College, so called, built at the expense of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel, etc. According to Daniel Gookin's account of the Indians, printed in the Collections (I. 176) of this Society, the building had "hitherto [1674] been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college."

In the second edition of Thomas's "History of Printing in America" (I. 59) the editor, Dr. Haven, says in a foot-note that he has "not found any book printed in Boston, or in any other town in Massachusetts, excepting Cambridge, until the year 1674," — which would imply that he had seen a Boston imprint of that date, though no such title is given in his list of "Ante-Revolutionary Publications." It is known that Johnson was printing at Cambridge as late as the beginning of August, 1674; and, as his second petition was granted by the General Court, it is within the range of possibilities that later in the year he established his press in Boston, and that some titlepage bore his imprint. As he died here, it is very likely that his home was here at that time; and I shall not despair some day of seeing a specimen of his handicraft done in Boston shortly before his death.

In the same edition of Thomas's "History of Printing" (I. 69), Dr. Haven makes some interesting statements in regard to the typography of a copy of "The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testaments," belong-

ing to the American Antiquarian Society; and to a certain extent his remarks are verified by inferences drawn from these papers. It is very likely that this book was printed by Johnson, with his font of type, then presumably new, which he brought over in 1665. In speaking of the work, Dr. Haven says:—

I have a complete copy of this edition, but the name of the printer, and the year in which it was printed, are not mentioned. It is calculated by being printed in a small page, with a very small type, to bind up with English editions of the pocket Bible; and, as the printing is executed by a good workman, and is the best that I have seen from the Cambridge press, I conclude, therefore, it could not be printed by Green before the arrival of Marmaduke Johnson in 1660; I have no doubt it was printed under Johnson's care; and, probably, soon after the Indian Bible came from the press in 1663. Johnson was a good printer, and so called by the corporation in England, who engaged, and sent him over, to assist Green in printing that work. Although in this edition the typography far exceeds in neatness any work then printed in the country, it is very incorrect; but this might have been more the fault of the corrector of the press, than of the printer. My belief that it was published about the year 1664, or 1665, is confirmed by its being printed for Hezekiah Usher, the only bookseller that I can find an account of at that time, in New England. He dealt largely in merchandise, and was then agent to the corporation in England, for propagating the Gospel in New England. It is a curious fact, that nonpareil types were used so early in this country; I have not seen them in any other book printed either at Cambridge, or Boston, before the revolution; even brevier types had been but seldom used in the printing houses in Boston, earlier than 1760. The nonpareil used for the Psalms was new, and a very handsome faced letter.

The first restriction on the liberty of the press at Cambridge was placed by the General Court in October, 1662, when two licensers were appointed without whose "allowance" and approval nothing could be printed. This action was due, perhaps entirely, to the publication of some religious tracts during the preceding year which gave offence to the clergy and others. The founders of New England feared the dangers of theological heresy more than those of political revolutions. While in matters of government they were far in advance of their contemporaries, they had not yet learned the lesson of toleration in religious thought. The restriction, however,

was soon taken off, as the law was repealed at the next session of the legislature, which began on May 27, 1663, but only to be re-enacted two years later, with an additional requirement as to the town where the press could be set up.

The enactment of this restriction was aimed at Johnson, as it was passed on May 27, 1665,—after his arrival, according to the second petition,—and not on October 19, 1664, as stated in the “History of Printing” (I. 58).

The volume and page of the Archives where these several manuscripts may be found, are indicated by Roman letters and Arabic figures within parentheses, at the end of each paper.

The legislative order in regard to the press and Johnson's two petitions are as follows:—

ffor the p̄ventinge of Irregularities & abuse to the Authoritie of this Country by the printinge presse

It is Ordered by this Court & Authoritie thereof that there shalbe no printing presses allowed in any towne within this Jurisdiction but in Cambridge nor shall any pson or psons p̄sume to print any Coppie but by the allowance first had & obtayned vnder the hands of such as this Court shall from time to time empowre therevnto, & for the p̄sent doe nominate & empowre Cap. Daniel Gookin m̄ Tho: Danforth the p̄sent p̄sident of the Colledge & m̄ Jonathan Michell or any three of them duely to suruay such coppie or coppies as afforesd & in case of non observance of this order to forfeit the prese to the country & be disabled from vsing any such proffessiō w^{thm} this Jurisdictiō for the time to come, provided this order shall not extend to the obstruction of any Coppie which this Court shall judge meet to order to be published in print the deputs haue past this desireinge the consent of o^r Hono^r magists

27 (3)^d 1665

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*

Consented vnto p̄vided that instead of Cap. Daniell Gookin and m̄ Tho: Danforth m̄ John Shearman and m̄ Tho: Shepherd be deputed to Joyne wth the p̄sent p̄sident and m̄ Jonathan Mitchell any two of whome shall haue power to allowe or phibit printing according to this order

Ri: BELLINGHAM *Gov^r*

Consented to by the deputs

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*

[Indorsed] Order abt printing^e # Curiam

27 May 65
1665

(LVIII. 55.)

To the hono^{ble} the Govern^r, the Deputy Govern^r, and the rest
of the Honored Magistrats, & deputies of the Masachu-
sets Collony Assembled in the Generall Court at Boston.
29th 2^{mo} 1668

The humble petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge,
Printer.

Sheweth,

That yo^r petitioner by the good hand & providence of God
returning from England in the year 1665. with his printing
press, & letters, and finding no law of the Country, nor order
of any Court to prohibit y^e Exercise of his calling in any
town, or place convenient within this Jurisdiction, did apply
himself (according to the Custome of strangers) to the Select-
men of the Town of Boston, for their admittance of him into
that town to inhabit: In which Juncture of time, yo^r peti-
tioner was informed that an order had passed this Hon^{ed}
Court, prohibiting the Exercise of printing in any town within
this Jurisdiction, save only at Cambridge. Whereupon yo^r
petitioner did yeild ready obedience thereunto, and tooke
Cambridge for his place of abode, where he hath ever since
continued. Now may it please this hon^{ed} Court, yo^r peti-
tioner finding to his great loss & detriment the inconveniency
of living in a town where no trade, or very little is managed,
especially in that which is appertaining to, or tends to the
promotion of his calling, as yo^r petitioner is ready more fully
to demonstrate if called thereunto, and being desirous by all
lawfull ways & means to make himself, and his art as usefull
and advantageous to this Commonwealth as possibly he may,
by Gods blessing on his indeav^rs: And humbly conceiving that
there is not the like restraint, or confinement of any other
art, or science:

Doth therefore in all humility pray & beseech this
hon^{ed} Court, that you would be pleased to take the
premises into yo^r grave & serious Considerations, that
so (if in yo^r wisdomes you shall see meet) the practi-
tioners of the art of Printing may have liberty to sit
down in such convenient place within this Jurisdiction,
as they shall finde most commodious for them; sub-
mitting at all times to all such laws & orders as are, or
shall be made concerning the premises, by the Author-
ity of this Com^{on}wealth.

And yo^r Petitioner (as in duty bound)
shall ever pray. &c.

The Magists. Judge it not convenient to grant the peticoners request their brethren the deputyes hereto Consenting

EDW: RAWSON *Secre^{ry}*

12 May 1668

The deputyes Consent hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

The deputyes have further voted that the pet.^r should haue his money he payd for entry of his pet. be returned agayne wth refference to the consent of o^r Hono^{rs} magists hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

(LVIII. 58.)

To the hon^{ble} the Governo^r, Deputy Governo^r, & the rest of the hon^d: Magistrates & Deputies for the Massachusetts Colony, assembled in Generall Court at Boston, 27: 3^d Moneth, 1674.

The humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge, Printer:

Sheweth,

That yo^r pet^r being in London brought up in the Art of Printing, & in no other Calling or Occupation; & being by the Providence of God brought into this Country with his Press & Letters in the year 1665. It pleased this hon^d Court (after his arrivall) to pass an Order bearing date the 3^d of May in the year aforesaid, thereby prohibiting the exercise of Printing in any Town within this Jurisdiction, save only at Cambridge: In obedience wherevnto yo^r pet^r hath ever since made that his place of residence. But finding by long & sad Experience the great discomodity & detriment by such Confinement of his Calling, & an absolute impossibility of providing comfortably for himself & family by the Incomes thereof, though managed with greatest Care, & followed with all possible diligence, not having imployment therein for one third part of his time, Conflicting with difficulties too great & many to be here recited: And also being sensible of the loss & disadvantage accrewing hereby to the Co^mmonwealth, who by his Art & Endeavo^r might have many vsefull & profitable Tracts printed and published here, were he allowed the liberty of his Calling in a convenient place of Trade: And humbly conceiving, no more security to the State, in preventing the printing things irregular, or abusive therevnto, by such Confinement, then if it were exercised in the most popul^{ous} Town within this jurisdiction; all which yo^r pet^r is ready to demonstrate, if called therevnto:



Doth therefore in all humility pray this hon^d Court, That you would be pleased to take the premises into yo^r grave & serious Considerations, & grant him such liberty & relief therein as in yo^r wisdoms shall seem meet; that so the Art of Printing may by this hon^d Court be duely encouraged, & the practition^r thereof have lawfull liberty of exercising the same in such place within this Jurisdiction, as they shall finde most comodious for them, & most to the advantage of the Comonwealth; submitting at all times to such Laws & Orders as are or shall be made concerning the premises, by the Authority of this Comonwealth.

And yo^r pet^r (as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

MARMADUKE JOHNSON.

30th May 1674:

The magis^{tr}. Judge meet to grant the peticoners request so as nothing be printed till licenc be obteyned according to lawe their Brethren the deputies hereto Consenting

EDW^m RAWSON *Secre^{ty}*

The deputies Consent hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

(LVIII. 91.)

At a much earlier period an attempt was made by the General Court to restrict the liberty of the press in the Colony, but the bill passed only one branch of the legislature. The exact date of the attempt is not known, but it was either during 1651 or 1655,—probably the latter year,—as those were the only two years when Endicott was Governor while Rawson was Secretary; and in 1651 Shepard was an undergraduate at college. The following is a copy of the bill:—

ffor as much as seuerall inconueniencys may acrew to the Commonwealth by ye liberty of ye pres this Cort doth heerby order y^t noe booke or wrighting shall bee imprinted wthin this Jurisdiction (exsept such questions as are ordinarily disputed at y^e Commensmts in ye Colledge ffrom time to time) Vnless they shall be licenced by such psons as are or shall bee appoynted by this Cort for y^t end, & iff any pson or psons shall imprint or Cause to be imprinted any booke or wrighting with out licence (as same w^t before is expresd) shall therby incur such Censure from this Court as the nature of y^t offence shall diserue, & ffurther this Court doth heerby nominate & authorise: the Gouverner for ye time being — Maior Daniell Dennison & mr Thomas Sheperd



or any two of them to bee licencers of y^e pres (during ye pleasure of ye Court

The Deputies haue voted this order desiring our magistrates concurrence heerein

EDWARD RAWSON *Cleric.*

The magistrates see no ground to consent wth o^r brethen the deputies heerein.

JO: ENDECOTT. *Gou^r*

[Indorsed] Bill for licens^m to y^e
pres
not granted.

(LVIII. 11.)

A dozen years later another attempt was made to restrict the liberty of the press here, but it proved unsuccessful: —

It is ordered by this court & the authority therof: that no printer within this Jurisdiction shall p^rsume to imprint any book or paper, for publike sale, vnles the same be alowed vnder the hands of m^r Charls Chancy m^r John Sheman pastour of waterton m^r Jonathan Michel pastor of cambridge m^r Tho Shepard teacher of Charlestowne or any 2 of them; vpon the penalty of forfeiture of all the imp^rsions to be seased on by warrant from one or 2 magistrates & the fine of fve pounds: to be payd by the printer for eury offenc being herof Legaly conuicted The magists haue past this wth Refference to the Consent of their bretheren the deputjes heereto

21th of may 1667

EDW: RAWSON *Secrety*

the debutys Consntd not herto

27: 3: 1667

RICHARD WALDERN *Spoker*

(LVIII. 57.)

The following papers set forth sufficiently well their own story. The answers, made by Green and Johnson, on September 3, 1668, to the Governor and Council, are of special interest as they give the titles of some early American imprints, which hitherto have escaped the attention of bibliographers. "The Isle of Pines," printed by Johnson without authority, was a small pamphlet of the Baron Munchausen order, which in its day passed through several editions in England and on the Continent. Undoubtedly it shocked the sensibilities of the truthful and matter-of-fact authorities here, and probably was the immediate cause of the prosecution of the printer, which resulted in a fine of five pounds. Perhaps "the primer,"

also printed by Johnson, is the long-sought-for first edition of the New-England Primer, which for so many years has been a puzzle to collectors and librarians.

To Marshall Edward Michelson

You are hereby required in his maj^{ty} name forthwith to Sumon & Require Marmaduke Johnson Printer to make his personall appearance before the Council sitting at Boston on 3^d Instant at nine of y^e clock in the morning to give an account of what bookes haue lately been printed at Cambridg by whom. & by what Authority: hereof you are not to faile dated in Boston. 2d September 1668.

Making your returne to y^e Secretary

By y^e Council EDW. RAWSON *Secrety*

To marshall Edward Michelson

You are hereby required in his maj^{ty} name forthwith to sumon & require Samuell Green: Printer to make his personall appearanc before the Council sitting at Boston on 3^d Instant at nine of ye clocke in the morning to give an account of what bookes haue lately been printed at Cambridge: by whom & by what authority: hereof you are not to faile dated at Boston. 2^d Septemb: 1668. Making your returne to the Secretary:

By y^e Council: EDW: RAWSON *Secrety*

Att A Councill held at Boston 3 Sept 68.

The warrants were Read y^t were sent for for [sic] Samuell Grene Printer &c.

being askt what bookes he had printed for whom & by w^t Authority he Ans'd a Drop of Honey he printed for himself = 2 y^e Rule of y^e new Creature: 3 y^e way to a blessed Estate in this life. 4 The Assembly of Divines Chatchise 5 a narration of y^e plague & fier at London. 6 Tidings from Roome the grand Trappan 7 y^t he had licenc for them all from: y^e President & M^r Michelle & y^e young mans monito^r:

Marmaduke John, w^t books

Ans^d, he printed the primer: & and [sic] y^e psalter: 2. Meditations on death & eternity 3 (: 4 y^e Rise spring &c of y^e Annabaptists 5 Isle of Pines: he hath y^e Righteous mans: evidenc for heauen. by M^r Rog's he had licenc for all by m^r Presidnt &. m^r Chancey [?] but y^e Isle of Pines.

P^rsent
Gou^r [Bellingham]
Dept Gou^r [Willoughby]
Symon Bradstreet
Sa^m. Symonds
Dani. Gookin
Dani. Dennison
Rich Russell
Tho Danforth
W^m Hawthorn
Eliaz^r Lusher
Jn^o Leueret
Jn^o Pinchon
Edw Ting

Esq^{rs}:

(LVIII. 59.)

At the end of Johnson's answer to the Governor and Council, the name of Mr. Chauncy is evidently a mistake for that of Mr. Mitchell, as Chauncy was then the president of the College. The Historical Society has a copy of the fourth title mentioned in Johnson's list, namely: "The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists," etc.

To the honorable Councill of the Coṃonwealth.

The humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of
Cambridge, Printer.

Sheweth,

That yo^r Petition^r doth with all humility acknowledge his rashness & inadvertency in printing a late pamphlett (called, The Isle of Pines) without due Order & License first had & obtain'd; for which being suṃoned before their honorable Councill, upon his Confession & conviction, was fined in the suṃ of five pounds to the Coṃonwealth. Now may it please this honoured Councill, yo^r Petition^r having in that act no intent or design to contemn Authority, or to vend or publish anything that might be displeasing thereto (as may appear by his affixing his Name to the said Pamphlett) but only the hope of procuring something to himself thereby for his necessary subsistence; his calling in this Country being very chargeable, his living thereon difficult, the gain thereby vncertain, & his losse by printing frequent: He therefore humbly prayes this honoured Councill, (if it may seem good to yo^r wisdomes) that the said fine may be remitted vnto him, & he discharged from the payment thereof.

And yo^r pet^r shall ever pray &c.

(LVIII. 63.)

The following papers relate to Samuel Green, the immediate successor of Stephen Day, who was the pioneer printer in the English colonies. Though not bred to the art, he began to print about the year 1649, and continued in the business until about 1692, the date of his latest publication. He was the father of a race of printers, and two of his sons, Samuel, Jr., and Bartholomew, were brought up to the same calling, as were many of his descendants. The father died in Cambridge, on January 1, 1702, aged 87 years; and Samuel, Jr., died in Boston, during the latter part of July, 1690, aged 42 years. Allusion to the son's death is found in one of the following bills, which were made out by the brother who administered on the estate. Bartholomew died in Boston, on December 28,

1732, aged 65 years, having lived a life distinguished for piety and benevolence.

Several of the titles charged in the first bill, notably "An Act for a fast printing twice over" (February 17, 1690), "one Sheet of Laws for Reformation" (March 17), and "a half Sheet about Sr: William [Phips] to go General" (March 24), are to be found in the Historical Library, and are mentioned in the list of Early American Imprints given in the Proceedings (second series, IX. 484, 486) for February, 1895.

To the Honrd Generall Court assembled
at Boston, the Information & request
of Samuel Green, Printer at Cambridge

Humbly sheweth

Whereas y^o poare Servant hath (althovgh with many wants & difficultyes) spent some yeares in attending ye service of ye Country in that worke of Printing, The Presse & the appurtenances thereof, w^hout a speedy svpply, & y^t especially of letters, & those principally for y^e printing of English, is now almost wholly vncapeable of farther improvem^t, either for the answering of y^e Countreyes expectation, or for the benefitt of such as are employed therein, & y^e Colledge (to whome y^e presse doth pperly belong) have not ability in theyr hands to helpe, so that vnlesse some p^sent care bee taken by the wisdom & furtherance of this Honrd Court, y^e improvem^t thereof must of necessity cease, & yo^r poore servant must bee forced to change either his habitation or employ^mt or both. The consideration & supply whereof is the humble request of y^o poore servant, or if not, y^o determination therein, y^t so hee may more clearely see his way for ye serving of the pvidence of god in some other calling.

In answer to this pet. the deputyes Conceiue the Consideration hereof should be Commended to the Comissione^rs of the Vnited Colonyes at their next meetinge that so they may write to the Corporation in England if they se meet for the pcureing of 20^{li} worth of letters for the vse of the Indian Colledge the deputyes haue past this & desire o^r honrd magists Consent hereto.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*

Consented to by y^e Magists.

EDW^d RAWSON *Secrety*

5 June 1658.

[Indorsed] Sarjant Greens Petic^on

Entred wth y^e magists & nothing due p Curiam

Ent 1658.

(LVIII. 37.)



To the Honoured Councill sitting att Boston
the Humble request of Samuel Green printer to the Colledge
att Cambridge :

Humbly intreateth that whereas there was an Order made by the Honoured Generall Court concerning printing : that there should be no printing but att Cambridge ; and that what was printed there should be approved by those four Gentlemen appointed by the Court then, or any two of them, yo^r Worships would please to explaine whether it is required those Gentlemen that allow of the printing of what is presented, should sett to their hands as Imprimators to it ; as also when they express there shall be no printing but att Cambridge, whether they intend that any one may sett up printing, provided it be in that town, or any part of it ; or whether they intend that the printing be only under the inspection of the Colledge there ; if there be libertie for any to sett up printing in the limitts of that Town that they would please to make such orders concerning it, that one may not wrong another by printing anothers copie when he hath been att charge about it, as it is in other places where severall printing houses are : for some of us do find a need of such things already, although there is but worke little inough for one printing house, to the great discouragement of yo^r poor Serv^t : in the place whereto he hath been called and hitherto to his poor abillitie hath endeavoured to be faithfull in it, according to what hath been required

And yo^r Serv^t : shall ever pray :

CAMBR: Octob: 14: (68)

(LVIII. 60.)

The new Council D^r since the General Court :
for Printing :

		1689:		ls	s	d
April	26:	To an order to the Constables.		00	05	00
May:	2	To an Act to send 2 men of every Town to the Council :		00	05	00
	3	To an Act for a fast		00	10	00
	30	To an Act of the Council for the Representatives		00	05	00
June	14	To 2 Acts of the Council about the Militia, &c:		01	00	00
July	3	To 3 Acts of the Council, 5 s & Act:		00	15	00
	6	To an Act of half a Sheet about the militia		00	10	00
	14	To an Act of the Council about a Humiliation day,		00	10	00
Sept	6	To an Act of the Council half a sheet, about a loan for money,		0	10	00
	6	To printing a broad-side for Subscriptions		00	10	00
	7	To printing a warrant for the Treasurer,		00	05	00

[Sept]	9	To printing an Act for a fast half a sheet	00 - 10 - 00
	12	To printing a sheet of Laws on both sides	01 - 05 - 00
November)			
	27)	To a warrant for 6 Rates together	00 - 05 - 00
Decem :	6	To a warrant for a Rate & half	00 - 05 - 00
	10	To an Order for a Thanks-giving half a sheet	00 - 10 - 00
1690:)			
Janua :	3)	To an order for a Contribution for Capt. Peas half sheet	00 - 10 - 00
	4	To an Act about Settling the Government half sheet :	00 - 10 - 00
	4	To an Act about Souldiers Debentors half sheet	00 - 10 - 00
Febru :	17 :	To an Act for a fast printing twice over	00 - 10 - 00
	18	To an Act of the General Court to Constibles to bring y Rates	0 - 10 - 00
	22	To a Sheet of Laws about voting for Election &c :	01 - 10 - 00
	24	To 2 orders of Court for the Treasurer	01 - 00 - 00
March :	5	To Commissions of foot Companies 100 a peace, 3 of them	01 - 10 - 00
	8	To 4 Commissions for Troopers, for the Comission officers	01 - 10 - 00
	17	To one Sheet of Laws for Reformation	01 - 10 - 00
	24	To a half Sheet about Sr : William [Phips] to go General	00 - 10 - 00
April :	1 :	To printing a warrant for ten Rates	00 - 05 - 00
	5	To 3 Commissions for Captains, Lieutenants & Ensigns for the present war	01 - 10 - 00
May	24	To Commissions for Capt : Lieut : & Ensigns	01 - 10 - 00
June	20	To a Proclamation for Souldiers to go against Canada	00 - 10 - 00
	30	To an half sheet for a fast	00 - 10 - 00
July	3	To 2 Acts of Court on half a sheet of paper 100 of them :	00 - 10 - 00
	6	To Commissions for Captains Lieutenants, & Ensigns,	01 - 10 - 00
	21 :	To printing warrants for 2 Rates a Large one	00 - 06 - 00
			<u>24 - 11 - 00</u>
1690		Since my Brothers Death :	
August	9 :	To printing a warrant for Rates,	00 - 05 - 00
	20	To an order for a Fast a Large one,	00 - 10 - 00

[August]	23	To a warrant for Rates	00 = 05 = 00
	25	To printing an Order about Heads of Families	00 = 07 = 00
			01 = 07 = 00
			24 = 11 = 00
		total	£ 25 = 18 = 00

Oct: 20. 1690. This is a true acc^t
taken out of ye Book of Sam^l
Green deceased as attest,

BARTHOLOMEW GREEN,

[Indorsed] Ordered, that m^r. Treasur^r pay the Sum^e of the within written Acco^t amounting to Twenty five pounds Eighteen Shillings in or as money unto the Administr^r of the within named Samuel Green.

Nov: 7. 1690.

Past in y^e affirmative by the Gov^r
and Assistants.

Is^t ADDINGTON Sec^y.

Consented to by the Deputyes
JOHN CLARK Cler

(LVIII. 137, 138.)

The Country D^e:

1691 :			is	s	d
April :	20.	To printing an order of the Court for Soldiers to come in to the Committee within three months	}	00 = 13 = 00	
April :	25.	To printing an order of a fast		00 = 10 = 00	
June	5.	To printing an order of the Court for the Treasurer to send warrants to the Constibles to get their Raits, A Large half sheet of the small Letter, about 100.	}	01 = 00 = 00	
June :	5 :	To printing a Large warrant, about 100 :		00 = 15 = 00	
July.	12.	To printing a warrant		00 = 08 = 00	
July	10	To printing a warrant for Commissioners		00 = 08 = 00	
August.	7.	To printing an Advertisement about 300 :		00 = 08 = 00	
Septem :	14.	To printing a Large warrants for deputies,		00 = 08 = 00	
October	23 :	To printing the Tickets about 800		00 = 12 = 00	
October	24 :	To printing a Large warrant to quicken Constibles to get in there Raits	}	00 = 08 = 00	
October.	27 :	To printing an order for a Thansgiving		00 = 16 = 00	
				£ 06 = 06 = 00	

¶ BARTHOLO : GREEN.

[Indorsed] Capⁿe Green^e Acco^t
of Printing unto
Nov: 1691.

Nil prodest quod non Legere possit idem.

(LVIII. 139.)

The VICE-PRESIDENT briefly referred to the interesting meeting of the Society, in November, 1883, in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, and called attention to the fact that the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Melanchthon would occur in a few days. He was followed by Rev. Dr. SAMUEL E. HERRICK, who read the following paper:—

On the 10th of November, 1883, the Massachusetts Historical Society celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther by a public service in the Arlington Street Church. The orator upon that occasion, our former associate, Dr. Frederic H. Hedge, in a philosophical analysis and estimate of Luther's work which stands easily in the first rank among the multitude of historic tributes called forth by that great anniversary, said of the Protestant Reformation which Luther inaugurated, that it would be "very imperfectly apprehended if construed solely as a schism in the Church, a new departure in religion. In a larger view, it was our modern world, with its social developments, its liberties, its science, its new conditions of being, evolving itself from the old; the dearest goods of our estate—civil independence, spiritual emancipation, individual scope, the larger room, the unbound thought, the free pen, whatever is most characteristic of this New England of our inheritance—we owe to the great Saxon Reformer," Martin Luther. With this estimate, especially as it was colored by the recognition of other contemporary agencies, "the printing-press, the revival of letters, the discovery of a new continent and other geographical and astronomical findings," we should probably all agree. But we are reminded by the approach of another historic date, February 16, 1897, which marks the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Melanchthon, that Luther had his adjutant. It is hardly too much to say that in whatever aspect the work of Luther may be regarded, no fair estimate can be arrived at which leaves Melanchthon out of the account. His hand is ever in the movement, though not always obvious,—and in a ministry most varied. In the brief time allotted for this notice it will be impossible to deal chronologically and minutely with the facts of his life. They are apparently susceptible of no new interpretation, perhaps of



no fresh light. They were as well understood three hundred years ago as they are to-day. It was possible for Froude in his later years to re-write the life of Erasmus, and to set it in a light which we could wish might be permanent; but it is doubtful whether the brilliant historian has spoken the final word. But upon Melanchthon it seems hardly possible for any new construction to be placed. He was, and is, transparent, as Erasmus was not during his life, and still is not, Froude's interpretation notwithstanding.

I shall content myself with noting here what seem to me to be the two great historic aspects of Melanchthon's relation to the Protestant Reformation.

In the first place, it was through Melanchthon chiefly that Humanism passed over into the Protestant movement. It is true that Protestantism grew out of Humanism; at least both were developments of the same historical spirit. The movement of Luther, or something like it, was an inevitable sequence of the revival of letters. It was to be looked for, that the recovery of the knowledge of classical antiquity should be accompanied, or speedily followed, by the recovery of that of Christian antiquity. But while the Renaissance made the Reformation inevitable, its masters largely refused to be identified with the religious movement. In Italy they ignored it altogether. The famous printers of the peninsula sent forth those beautiful editions of the classics which bibliophiles love to-day, but they printed no Greek Testament. In Germany Reuchlin revived the Hebrew prophets, and Erasmus published his New Testament; but personally neither Reuchlin nor Erasmus ever became identified with Lutherism. However these men may have been disgusted with the barbarism and the absurdities of the old religious order, they stood in dread of the unknown and unpredictable developments which might spring from the new, and so held themselves aloof. They furnished explosives of the latest invention, and arms of the most modern and destructive make, but otherwise would have no hand in the revolutionary warfare. But Melanchthon, beginning purely as a Humanist and the peer of Reuchlin or Erasmus, in their liberal studies, betook himself at a very early date to the side of Luther. Coming in 1518 as Professor of Greek to Wittenberg, just as all Germany was ablaze from the torch which Luther had set



flaming in its church-door, he made Wittenberg at the same time the centre of German Humanism. The two streams coalesced. Up to this point Luther was no Humanist, and Melanchthon no Protestant; after this each lived more or less in the spirit of the other. Melanchthon brought into the Protestantism of Luther the literary spirit. He put the foundations of a "Higher Criticism" under the "New Theology" of the time. He taught the students who now began to throng the lecture-rooms of Wittenberg to construe Homer in the morning and Paul in the afternoon, and both in the calm and ingenuous temper of unprejudiced scholarship. And so while he was bringing the New Learning into the New Theology, he was also leavening the ranks of rising Humanists with knowledge drawn from the rediscovered sources of Christianity. To him it was due in no small degree that what Leo X. was at first disposed to regard as a mere "monkish squabble," he was soon compelled to recognize as a movement of intellectual and spiritual power. In him the Renaissance was redeemed from its Paganism, and the Reformation defended against that contempt and superciliousness with which a conservative and elegant erudition regards its intellectual inferiors.

A second aspect of Melanchthon's work which I note arises rather from his character as a man, and has to do with personal qualities. It has often been noted that Luther and Melanchthon were, both in intellect and disposition, complementary each to the other. Apart from the fact that one had been saturated with the spirit of the Renaissance before coming into the reform movement while the other had plunged into the reform as yet almost untouched by the forces of Humanism, there was a further balance between them of natural qualities. The "little Greek," as Luther called his fellow, was like a pilot-fish to the blundering Teuton. Melanchthon's scholarship was finer, his vision more comprehensive, his judgment more sane, his speech more temperate. His was the centripetal conservative force which balanced and guarded the centrifugal and radical spirit of his chief. He ballasted Luther's impulse. Luther allowed his whole nature and action to be polarized by the thought of the hour. He looked at truths; Melanchthon saw Truth. So while one was often intrepid to the verge of rashness, the other was some-

times cautious almost to timidity. The mutual compensation of the two men was admirable. A special Bridgewater Treatise might be erected upon it, if Bridgewater treatises were not out of date.

Even if there were time, it would here be out of place to enter upon the specific theological services rendered by Melanchthon to the great religious movement. His part in making Luther's Bible the classic that it was and is; his leadership during Luther's confinement in the Wartburg; his confession drawn up for the Diet at Augsburg; his "*Loci Communes*," which Erasmus said was like a mighty army drawn up in order of battle; the multifarious labors of his thought and pen which made him, in a sense in which Luther never was, the literary exponent of the Reformation in Germany, — are things known and read of all men, and call for no rehearsal here. Their importance has been and will be variously interpreted by the great divisions of Christendom. But the wise, calm spirit of the man, his humanities, his historical instinct, his freedom from the odium theologicum, his vision of the original and essential unity of the Kingdom of Righteousness, are still a living lesson for which all scholars, of whatever faith, owe a debt of gratitude to his memory.

Melanchthon died on the 19th of April, 1560.

It is well known that Albrecht Dürer occupied himself for some time, in the later years of his life, in etching upon copper, "in a style of consummate care and power, several portraits of his friends, among them the Elector Frederick, Pirckheimer, Erasmus, and Melanchthon." It was my good fortune, when spending some days in the Austrian Tyrol ten years ago, to find one of these etchings, from the original plate, of the portrait of Melanchthon; of which I now ask the acceptance by the Society, as a memorial of our observance of this anniversary.

Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, having been called on, read a paper as follows: —

The important facts in the life of Melanchthon which are necessary in order to a judgment upon his career, may be briefly enumerated. He was born on the 16th of February,

1497, in the Rhenish Palatinate, the son of an armorer known as the Locksmith of Heidelberg. His father dying when he was young, his great-uncle, the famous Reuchlin, took charge of his education. His family name, Schwarzerd, was translated by Reuchlin into Greek as Melanchthon. The boy was precocious as a scholar to a most extraordinary degree. When he was twelve years old, he went to the University of Heidelberg, taking his degree there of Bachelor of Arts in his fourteenth year. When the degree of Master of Arts was denied him on account of his youth, he left Heidelberg in chagrin for the University of Tübingen, where he took up ancient literature and history, both of which studies were then feeling the influence of Reuchlin and Erasmus. At the age of sixteen he published a Greek grammar, which made him known in Germany; and in the following year he took the degree of Master of Arts. The characteristics of his mind were profundity, thoroughness, and accuracy, combined with a memory which forgot nothing. While still a youth, he was recognized as the coming scholar of his age, the successor of Reuchlin and Erasmus. Reuchlin was proud of him, and Erasmus testified publicly to the admiration he felt for him, by inserting a passage in his "Annotations to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians," published in 1522, which is remarkable as coming from the great prince of learning: "Immortal God! what promise is there in this young man, — this *boy*! His attainments in both literatures are equally valuable. What ingenuity, what acumen, what purity of language, what beauty of expression, what a memory for the most unfamiliar things, what a wide extent of reading!"

Erasmus did not probably exaggerate, for that was not characteristic of the man. Before Melanchthon was twenty-one, he had lectured on ancient literature at the University of Tübingen, he had edited the Comedies of Terence, had translated Aratus and some of the writings of Plutarch, and was making preparations for a correct edition of Aristotle. He wrote and spoke both Greek and Latin better, it was said, than his native tongue. So great was his fame, that he received calls from the Universities of Ingolstadt, Leipsic, and Wittenberg; and to the latter university he went as professor of Greek in the year 1518, at the age of twenty-one. Reuchlin had written to the Elector Frederick recommending him: "I

know no man among the Germans who is superior to Master Philip Schwarzerd except Erasmus Rotterdamus, who is a Hollander, and surpasses us all in Latin." It was Reuchlin, then, who unwittingly determined the destiny of his great pupil. He went to Wittenberg instead of Ingolstädt or Leipsic, because Reuchlin commanded it. "Whither thou wilt send me," writes Melanchthon to him, "there will I go; what thou wilt make of me, that will I become." And Reuchlin's answer: "Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing." It was a true prophecy, and had its own fulfilment; the migration of Melanchthon, like that of Abraham, was to be attended with momentous consequences. But they were not what Reuchlin or Erasmus had expected or intended.

To Wittenberg Melanchthon went, where his fame attracted students from all parts of Europe, even from Italy the chosen home of the Renaissance. An audience of two thousand students, it is said, waited upon his lectures, some of them climbing in at the windows in order to obtain their places. His inaugural lecture was entitled "The Improvement of the Studies of Youth," and marked an epoch in the history of education in Germany. His purpose was declared to lead students to a knowledge of the truth by a careful study of the sources of knowledge. The humanist principle is also apparent in this address, — a reformation in the Church by the aid of literary culture. He lectured at Wittenberg upon ethics and logic, Greek and Hebrew grammar, Homer and Plato and Plutarch. Soon after his arrival he published a translation of one of Lucian's works, and then other of Plutarch's writings, and wrote a preface to a Hebrew grammar. But, as if this were not enough, he lectured on the Epistle to Titus, on the Gospel of Matthew, on Romans, and the Psalms. In 1519 he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, but declined, on account of modesty, the proffered degree of Doctor. He was never ordained, and never preached from the pulpit; but on Sundays delivered lectures in Latin on the Gospels to the foreign students in attendance at the University. Such was Melanchthon in the early years of his

residence at Wittenberg; its most popular teacher, attracting crowds of listeners, princes also, and the German nobility. He was the author of the statutes of the University, and thus, by his advice and example, regulated the higher education of Germany, and became the founder of its learned schools. It was Ranke's estimate of him, that he was "one of those extraordinary spirits, appearing at rare intervals, who attain to the full possession and use of their powers at an early period of life." He had the instincts natural to a scholar, and the precision which solid philological studies impart. The title given to him at this time, *Preceptor Germaniæ*, was certainly not undeserved.

But now there came a change in Melanchthon, which will be differently estimated according as our standards vary of what the world requires in its scholars. At Wittenberg that happened to him which Reuchlin and Erasmus deprecated: he fell under the influence of the mighty personality of Martin Luther, to be henceforth devoted heart and soul to the cause of the German Reformation. When his great-uncle Reuchlin learned of his defection, he would have nothing more to do with him. The valuable library which he had intended to bequeath to him was left elsewhere. The passage in Erasmus's work which had extolled Melanchthon for his wonderful achievements as a scholar was withdrawn in the next edition. These men deplored the work of Luther as leading to a revolution which would be fatal to the cause of letters and of learning. We catch the echo of the negative attitude of humanism, as "when some, who heard of Melanchthon's faith in eternal life and the judgment, declared they would esteem him a more modest man if he did not believe such things."

Melanchthon's chief interest henceforth lay in theology, and not in *Litteræ Humaniores*, for their own sake. With instinctive insight he appropriated as his own all that Luther had slowly worked out in agony of soul in his monastic experience. Melanchthon received it easily and without a struggle. The doctrine of justification by faith he embraced as the cardinal principle in theology, and devoted himself to its explication in its larger bearings, and its fortification by all that human learning could bring. He did much for Luther when he gave him Greek, whose significance, as compared with

the Latin tongue, produced a deeper conviction in Luther's soul of the truths which he had already discerned. From the time that Melanchthon listened, an "idle spectator" as he calls himself, to the Discussion at Leipsic where the issues of the age came up for a hearing, he took his place by the side of Luther not only as his devoted friend but as co-worker with him in the same cause and on an equal footing. In 1522, at the age of twenty-four, Melanchthon produced his "*Loci Communes*," the first hand-book of Protestant theology, which has ever since remained a standard. In 1530 it was Melanchthon who drew up the famous Augsburg Confession, and afterwards the "Apology" for it, which was presented to the German emperor. Since Luther was still under the ban of the Empire, it was Melanchthon who stepped forth to represent the new movement on all critical occasions. He appeared at the two diets held at Spires in 1526 and 1529; he was at the Conference at Marburg, and again at Regensburg, when the attempt was made to reconcile the Protestants and the Catholics. He was invited to other countries, — to England and to Denmark; but he clung to Wittenberg and to Luther, and the cause of religion in Germany.

With his high reputation, rivalling that of Erasmus, with his great intellectual powers and his wide scholarship, in view of all that he did for letters and for theology, why is it that Melanchthon is not better known to-day, that men have a difficulty in estimating him, or in giving him his place in history? Luther is still alive and interesting; Erasmus still exerts his charm and fascination; but it is hard to make Melanchthon interesting. A few quiet scholars, living in seclusion, and interested in literature as well as in theology, will tell us that they prefer Melanchthon to Luther, or that Melanchthon, rather than Luther, reconciles them to the German Reformation. But that is all. His name awakens no enthusiasm; it requires an effort to see his features across the gulf of centuries. His face is not an interesting one, as it may be studied in Dürer's well-known portrait. The high, overhanging brow is associated with weakness in the mouth and chin, as though intellectuality were developed at the expense of strength of will. He had the weakness of the scholar who is capable of seeing more than one side of a question. There was not in him the

stuff of which martyrs are made. He was like the English Cranmer in this respect; he knew too much and saw too much to be a narrow partisan. There was nothing picturesque or heroic in his career, as in that of Luther, which appeals to the popular imagination. His reward is that of the scholar and not of the actor. He experienced the truth of the saying that thought widens but lames, action narrows but animates.

We see Melanchthon more clearly in his virtues, as well as his defects, if we compare him for a moment with Luther. The friendship between these men was something beautiful and rare. Although Luther was the elder by fourteen years, yet in reality they were of equal years so far as the value of age is involved. Luther's characterization of the difference between them is final; "I prefer the books," he said in 1529, "of Master Philippus to my own. I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike. I am born to fight against innumerable monsters and devils. I must remove stumps and stones, cut away thistles and thorns, and clear the wild forests; and Master Philippus comes along, softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy according to the gifts which God has abundantly bestowed upon him."

Melanchthon stood by Luther as the teacher stands by the prophet, to correct his unguarded utterance, to test his impulses by the learning of the school, to interpret him to the higher intelligence of the German people. Luther spoke from the feeling of the moment, without the necessary qualification; and if he had lacked Melanchthon's conservative help, might have endangered the cause of religious liberty by the extreme tendency of his attitude. "Luther," it has been well said, "was afraid of himself, and Melanchthon became a piece of his conscience." Luther demanded Melanchthon's assent to whatever he said or thought, and became angry when Melanchthon did not agree with him. But when Luther became too domineering, Melanchthon sulked.

We see the difference between these two men in those critical moments, when Luther's boldness enabled him to push his way through difficulties which confused or intimidated the mind of his gentler colleague. One of these occasions was the rise of the Zwickau prophets, as they are called, the fanatics who followed in the wake of the Reformation. They proclaimed that they had a new revelation; that the Spirit had

come to them anew, independently of Apostles and New Testament, and was imparting truth which it was most important for the age to receive. Melanchthon was staggered by their attitude; he felt that it might be so, and saw reason to think it was so; but if so, the very foundations of his theology were shaken. Only Luther, he said, could decide that question. So Luther came and met the Zwickau prophets, and his first question was as to their credentials. Could they work miracles and thus establish their authority? No, they could not work a miracle, but they could do something akin to the miraculous, — they could tell Luther the actual thoughts which were then passing through his mind. When Luther bid them reveal his thoughts, they answered that he was half inclined to think they were in the right; and Luther afterwards admitted that they were not far from the truth. But in the presence of the prophets Luther showed no weakness, and made no concession. He finally dismissed them with one of his characteristic utterances: "I smite that spirit of yours upon the snout."

And again, in that scandal of the Reformation when the Reformers allowed themselves for a moment to be persuaded that polygamy might be tolerated in princes and the great ones of the earth, it was Melanchthon who was present when the Landgrave of Hesse took the second wife, and thus gave his sanction to the act. But in consequence of the shame and mortification which came to him when the act, which was intended to be private, became known, he fell sick and was nigh unto death. The life seemed to have departed from him, and he lay unconscious, when Luther, who had been sent for, reached his bedside. The mighty spirit of Luther rose to the occasion. It had all been a mistake, that affair of the second marriage, but the Reformation was not to be allowed to perish because of a blunder. "May the Lord preserve us," exclaimed Luther, as he looked at Melanchthon; "how the devil has abused this organ of the divine truth." Then, turning to the window, and placing himself with his back to the company, he prayed fervently to God. "The Lord," says Luther, "was constrained at this time to grant me my desire, for I threatened to have nothing more to do with Him, and poured into His ears all the promises to importunate prayer that I could bring from Holy Scriptures; so that He must needs hear me if I was

ever again to trust His promises." He then took Melanchthon by the hand, saying, "Be of good cheer, Philip, you will not die"; and behold, Melanchthon began to revive, and in a few days was on the road to recovery. Such is Luther's account of the famous event, which some have regarded as a miracle of healing. The English version, however, reads more smoothly than the native German, where, if one may translate literally, Luther declared that he "rubbed the ears of our Lord God" with His own promises. The late Sir William Hamilton was so repelled by the language of Luther on this and other occasions, that he went back and walked no more with him.

The differences of opinion which existed between Melanchthon and Luther show how the scholar survived in Melanchthon and was not overcome by the powerful personality of his friend. Luther denied the freedom of the will, calling man a beast of burden, whom God or the devil might ride, but which could not choose its rider. Melanchthon believed in the freedom of the will. Luther prayed that his followers might learn to hate the Pope more heartily; but Melanchthon would have been willing to see the Pope's authority restored, if it could be understood that it was a human authority conceded him by the voluntary suffrage of the Church. On the same principle he would have retained the government by bishops, while Luther found no use for them. Melanchthon modified the doctrine of justification by faith, so as to approve of the necessity of good works; for some of the stricter Lutherans had gone so far as to protest against the danger they involved. Again, Melanchthon thought that many religious rites which others condemned on the ground that they were papal ceremonies, were indifferent in their character. And, in a word, Melanchthon believed in mediation and conciliation with Calvinists and with Catholics; while Luther, as he browsed over the truth which he had reached, felt the vastness of the difference which divided his own from the other phases of religious belief. Luther spoke contemptuously also of philosophy, while Melanchthon regarded "the union of religion with philosophy as the greatest ornament of a man of culture."

But now there was one moment in the life of Melanchthon when he appeared not in the rôle of a mediator or peace-maker, but as a persecutor, sanctioning the punishment of

heresy by death. He has sometimes been compared to St. John, while Luther has been seen to resemble St. Paul. But the Johannine temperament may have its moods of resentment and revolt. When Melanchthon heard of the execution of Servetus, he wrote to Calvin: "I thoroughly approve the action of your magistrates in putting such a blasphemer to death, in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon him and also in accordance with Justice." Luther, with all his bluster and violent language, would not have approved of the burning of Servetus; so, at least, his followers have maintained. His own words would seem to indicate the futility of suppressing heresy by force, apart from any principle of religious toleration. "Heresy," he has said, "is a spiritual thing that cannot be hewn with any axe or drowned with any water."

When Servetus was burned in 1553, seven years had elapsed since Luther died. Melanchthon without Luther was inadequate and widowed, as if but half a man. It is often remarked that it was a misfortune to Melanchthon when he fell under Luther's influence and was turned aside from letters and culture and philosophy, from the humanism of the pure scholar into the mixed and dubious character of a theologian. Melanchthon himself in a passage in one of his letters seems to justify the suspicion that he was overawed by Luther. Two years after Luther's death, he wrote: "I was formerly compelled to cringe ignominiously to Luther, like a slave, on occasions when he gave way to his stubborn self-will,—a quality of which he possessed no small share." But this could not have been his fullest thought or feeling about his friend and colleague. At any rate, the death of Luther brought him no freedom, but rather worse calamities befell him and his life went out in darkness and sorrow. It was the result of his mediating conciliatory attitude, that he woke up bitter controversies in the Lutheran church, he was treated with scurrility of language, and charged with cowardice and treachery. It almost seems as if the result of the alliance between scholarship and theology was to promote hostility and turmoil, instead of peace and progress. So it was then; so it has been ever since, especially in Germany. Melanchthon died in 1560, at the age of sixty-three, the age at which Luther also died; and was buried by Luther's

side in the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg. A few days before his departure, he wrote down upon a sheet of paper his reasons for not fearing death. On one side of that paper were the negative reasons, "Thou shalt be delivered from sins and be freed from the acrimony and fury of theologians, a *rabie theologorum*"; on the other side, "Thou shalt go to the right, thou shalt see God, thou shalt look upon his Son, thou shalt learn those wonderful mysteries which thou hast not been able to understand in this life."

Luther was the prophet of the Reformation. Melanchthon was the teacher, bringing the resources of human learning to the aid of faith. The alliance then cemented has never ceased in Germany. Melanchthon has always had his successors in that land of scholars, who have fearlessly pursued the truth, wherever true scholarship might lead them. Like their great predecessor, they have dared to differ from Luther, while yet holding him in highest honor and reverence. Like Melanchthon, also, they have suffered for the truth which learning has revealed to them, and have passed their days in controversy. We may recall some of them in our own age,—Schleiermacher and Rothe, Baur and Dorner, men who stood in the foremost walks of intellectual equipment, upon whom the hand of Luther was laid, who could not escape to pure humanism if they would. Their chief interest, like that of Melanchthon, was in theology. Even literary men in Germany have continued to feel the power of Luther. Lessing worked with one hand at literature, and with the other at theology. Goethe alone escaped,—the one great humanist whose faith reposed in culture. These scholars of Germany do their work for theology and then retire, almost in the next generation, into the forgetfulness and oblivion which for many years was the fate which befell Melanchthon. To-day there is one who speaks to the learned world as no man has spoken since the days of Erasmus, upon whom also the hand of Luther rests. The brilliant genius of Dr. Harnack, the unrivalled learning and insight which he so easily possesses, may be to us a type of what Melanchthon stood for to his day and generation. In one sense these men constitute a noble army of martyrs for a cause so high that they get no popular recognition; but they constitute also a succession in the higher life of humanity which is more

precious than all else beside. They stimulate and they beckon onward; they hold out a reward,—the pursuit of truth for its own sake.

The friendship between Luther and Melanchthon is perhaps the one most interesting feature of Melanchthon's life, and bears witness to the greatness and beauty of his character. Luther declared that he would not give up Melanchthon, even when Melanchthon showed signs of leaning toward Zwinglianism. Melanchthon had said that he would rather die than be torn from Luther. But the friendship of Melanchthon with Calvin is quite as extraordinary as that with Luther. Calvin, who could bear no dissent from his opinion at Geneva, yet loved Melanchthon, who modified his doctrine of election and believed in the freedom of the will. It was a beautiful tribute which Calvin paid to Melanchthon, when amid the misery of his surroundings at Geneva he thought of Melanchthon at rest and invoked him by name. The words of Calvin may have been in the mind of the French historian Renan, as a suggestion for that fine dedication of his "*Vie de Jésus*" to his departed sister:—

"O Philip Melanchthon, for I appeal to thee, who art now living in the bosom of God, where thou waitest for us, till we be gathered with thee to a holy rest. A hundred times hast thou said, when, wearied with labor and oppressed with sadness, thou didst lay thyself familiarly on my breast, Would that I could die on this breast! Since then, I have a thousand times wished that it had been our lot to be together."

A new serial of the Proceedings, containing the record of the December and January meetings, was on the table ready for distribution.

MARCH MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library, the Vice-President announced as a committee to nominate officers to be voted for at the Annual Meeting, Messrs. Arthur Lord, James F. Rhodes, and Francis C. Lowell; and as a committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. A. Lawrence Lowell and T. Jefferson Coolidge. He said that as considerable progress had been made in the removal of the Library and Cabinet, it had not been thought desirable to appoint a committee to examine those departments.

The Treasurer said he had made arrangements to execute and deliver the mortgage and deed of the Tremont Street estate in accordance with the votes passed at the last meeting of the Society, and also to pay off the mortgage on the Fenway estate, and that he should defer to a later period any recommendation with regard to the disposition of the remainder of the purchase money to be received by the Society.

The Vice-President briefly announced the death of Mr. George O. Shattuck, a Resident Member, who died on the 23d of February, and called on Mr. James B. Thayer to speak of his friend and former law-partner. MR. THAYER said:—

Mr. Shattuck was elected a Resident Member of this Society on June 13, 1889. Probably he was not chosen with any expectation that he would be able, during his busy years of practice, to attend the meetings of the Society often, or to contribute papers to its proceedings. If any such hopes existed, they have been disappointed. He brought to us, however, the support of a wise and able adviser; and if his life had been spared, he would probably, as he came gradually to withdraw from the pressure of his work, have been seen here oftener, and have come to take a more active part. He was appointed



to write the memoir of our associate William G. Russell, but had not finished it at the time of his own death.

Mr. Shattuck was born in Andover, Massachusetts, May 2, 1829. His ancestors on both sides, coming from England in the first half of the seventeenth century, belonged to the best class of New England people, were marked by strong intelligence and character, and had qualities of courage and devotion which showed themselves by the early appearance in our Revolutionary Army of both his grandfathers. His great-grandfather, Samuel Bailey, Junior, was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill, where he is said to have served as a lieutenant. Mr. Shattuck's father, Joseph Shattuck, represented the town of Andover in the Legislature. After graduating at Phillips Andover Academy, Mr. Shattuck entered Harvard College in 1847 and graduated in 1851. I first knew him in college, but only slightly. He was a leading man there, both in scholarship and character. After leaving college he taught for a time in the school of Stephen M. Weld at Jamaica Plain, and in 1852 entered the Harvard Law School, where he graduated two years later. Here again he held a high place, and gave promise of a distinguished career. After leaving the Law School he studied for a time in the office of Charles G. Loring, was admitted to the bar in 1855, and at once began business in Boston, at No. 40 State Street, in partnership with J. Randolph Coolidge, who had been his classmate at the Law School. In 1856 he accepted an invitation from Peleg W. Chandler to become his partner, at No. 4 Court Street, and was at once thrown, for the rest of his life, into a professional career of great activity. I was admitted as a third member of this firm in 1865. In 1870 Mr. Shattuck withdrew from the firm and became the head of another partnership which included at one time O. W. Holmes, Jr., — until his appointment to the bench in 1882, — and always included William A. Munroe, the partner who survives Mr. Shattuck. Both of these gentlemen had been his students at the old office.

From the very beginning Mr. Shattuck has always been a successful man, and, among his contemporaries, a leader; and no one ever doubted that his success and his distinction were deserved. All through his life he won what he got by the strong, direct, vigorous efforts of a man who felt himself competent for his task and who had thoroughly prepared

himself for it; in the thick of the struggle he saw what he foresaw. He was a man unused to defeat, and little disposed to tolerate it when it seemed to be thrusting itself upon him. His adversaries often found that he developed at such moments a startling capacity of saving a hopeless cause, by the skill, the careful thinking, the knowledge of law and legal procedure, and the endless persistence and endurance which he would suddenly bring to bear upon the situation.

If I say of Mr. Shattuck that he was a learned lawyer, I do not mean learned in the sense of being what is called a legal scholar, or one who is given to the study of law apart from the requirements of his own cases and his own practice. But, nevertheless, he was learned and accomplished. A good foundation had been laid in the studies of his early life as a law student, and he had so scrutinized, digested, and reflected upon the subjects brought before him from time to time in his long professional life, that this large experience had been transmuted into an extensive and ordered body of learning. The estimation in which he was held as a lawyer is sufficiently indicated when it is recalled that he had declined the offers of a position upon the bench of one of the Federal courts in Massachusetts, and also upon that of the Supreme Court of this State; and that he was chosen last year the President of the Bar Association of Boston.

For a short time, early in his professional life, Mr. Shattuck was a member of the Common Council of the City of Boston; with that exception he did not hold public office. But as a citizen he was actively interested in politics, and a cordial supporter of the general policy of the Republican party.

His religious opinions were those of the Unitarians. For many years he was one of the Directors of the American Unitarian Association, and a member of the Prudential Committee of the First Church in Boston. He had long been one of the Overseers of Harvard University, and a trusted friend and adviser of President Eliot.

In 1857 he married Miss Emily Copeland, of Roxbury; and she, with their one child, — a daughter, now the wife of Dr. Arthur T. Cabot, — survives him. Mr. Shattuck had acquired a comfortable fortune; and in recent years, when he had begun to feel the need of rest, he went upon repeated trips to Europe, and to Mexico and the coast of California.

Outside of his profession Mr. Shattuck was a thoughtful man, of large views, and well acquainted with many subjects not connected with the law; so that his conversation was instructive and interesting. While he was always a gentleman, friendly and courteous, he did not devote himself to the smaller *arts* of social intercourse. He was often absorbed and pre-occupied with what crowded upon his own mind, and likely at such times rather to take possession of the field of conversation than to invite out his friend into the open. He was a man plain and solid, rather than brilliant; but always he was full of intelligence, large-natured, tender-hearted, and of an engaging simplicity of character. Especially he had a capacity for cordial personal relations, and an incapacity to hide anything from his friends, even if he tried.

One who knew him intimately writes to me, happily and truly, of "his great interest in children, in young people and in young men just starting in life; his enthusiastic admiration, which never grew cold, for the men and women, and even the places, which had once engaged his affection; and that large nature to which things appealed by their magnitude, and which demanded for playthings nothing less than a farm, a woodland, or a boat in which to sail miles away." He dearly loved all country sights and sounds, and had long passed his summers upon his beautiful farm on the bay at Mattapoisett.

I have said little, directly, of my own personal acquaintance with Mr. Shattuck. It began in college and in college societies, nearly fifty years ago; I was in the class next below him. But it was not till some three or four years later that I began to know him well. As a fellow member of a social club of our contemporaries and nearer friends, as his partner in business for several years, and, in course of time, as a friend admitted to intimate relations, I am able to say of him that he was one of the best, kindest, and most devoted friends, one of the most faithful and trustworthy legal advisers, one of the most competent, thoroughly prepared advocates, one of the best citizens, and one of the most faithful, strong, and upright men I have ever known.

Mr. Charles F. Dunbar was appointed to write a memoir of Mr. Shattuck for publication in the Proceedings, and Mr.

Winslow Warren a memoir of the late William G. Russell, which had been previously assigned to Mr. Shattuck.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY then read the following letter which he had received from the President, now absent in Europe:—

HOTEL DE LONDRES, ROME, February 4, 1897.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR HAYNES,— During a brief visit to Rome, now drawing to a close, I have been much interested in a possible line of historical investigation, which peculiarly concerns our Society as the holder of the Francis Parkman collection of papers relating to the earlier explorations and the French development in America. I have never examined this collection, but my impression is that the material in it was drawn almost wholly from French archives and other French sources. Meanwhile it is, of course, matter of common knowledge that during the first two centuries and a half of American history—that is, from the discovery by Columbus down to the end of French rule in Canada—the Roman Catholic Church, through its monastic orders and its system of propaganda, was a most active factor in the course of events. Its emissaries were not only ubiquitous, but they were trained and were present with an object,—to observe and report. They were, in fact,—Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans,—the nearest approach then existing to the modern newspaper correspondent. The reports the members of these several Orders made to their superiors were often, and perhaps most frequently, oral, on their return from their missions; but, on the other hand, many such reports were doubtless made from time to time, and in writing, and these would naturally form parts of the archives of the Propaganda or of the several Orders. It would seem, therefore, not unfair to assume that, wholly apart from the well-known collections in the Vatican, and in the public repositories of Naples, Florence, Parma, Venice, etc., which have comparatively slight bearing on American affairs, a valuable body of historical material relating more particularly to America may exist in Rome, where were the headquarters of the Propaganda, of the Jesuits, and other of the missionary organizations.

As the result of tolerably careful inquiry made in the best informed quarters here, I cannot find that this possible field has been searched. Neither Parkman nor Prescott could have worked into it, for in their time it was still a closed book. It is not necessary for my present purpose to more than allude to the well-known examinations being made into the vast collection known as the Archives of the Vatican. There is, in the October number of the "American Historical Review" (vol. ii. no. 1, pp. 40-58), a highly interesting paper by Charles H. Haskins, to which I will refer those of the Society who may desire

to be informed on this, historically, most important topic. I am told by those here most competent to speak on the subject, that the Haskins paper shows a very complete mastery of the facts as they now exist. From it any one desirous of learning what has been done by the various governments towards supplementing their own records from this source can get the necessary information. Meanwhile, I shall quote, in order to make it of record in the Proceedings of the Society, what Mr. Haskins has to say on this point so far as American history is concerned. It is contained in the closing paragraph of his paper:—

“The value and extent of the Roman sources for American history would appear only after a prolonged examination. Unquestionably, the general history of the Western world, even of those parts which have always been predominantly Catholic, stands in no such close relation to the papal system as does the history of Europe, and it were vain to expect the same assistance from Roman archives in the one field as in the other. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that the Vatican collections contain much of special interest to American students, particularly in regard to the age of exploration and colonization, and the history of Latin America, — in which directions the material is doubtless most abundant, while our opportunity is at the same time the wider, owing to the backwardness of Spain and Portugal in undertaking researches at the Vatican. A systematic and thorough investigation of the American material at the Vatican ought certainly to be made, — either by a specially qualified agent, or, better still, by an American School of Historical Studies at Rome. It is not the place here to insist upon the utility of such a school, established upon the general plan of the classical schools at Rome and Athens, and working in friendly co-operation with them and with the historical institutes already founded by European countries. If it were properly organized and directed, I believe a school at Rome would prove of the greatest value, not only by its actual contributions to historical knowledge, but also by its stimulating effect upon the serious study of history among us. Its activities should not be confined to American subjects, but should also include some of the numerous other problems of general interest whose solution lies in the archives and libraries of Rome and other parts of Italy, so that the idea of such an institution ought to appeal to all who are concerned in the progress of historical science in America, regardless of the directions in which their own special studies may lie.”

It will be observed that in the foregoing extract from his paper Mr. Haskins speaks only of the Vatican collections and the researches up to this time therein made. My own impression, however, is that, so far as American history is concerned, the Vatican archives would not prove the most profitable field for investigation. I am confirmed in this impression by Mr. William Bliss, who has for years been conducting investigations here as agent of the British Public Record Office, and whose experience has probably been as extensive and varied as that of

any person ever engaged in work of that character, at least in Rome. I am indebted to him for some suggestions, as well as most of the little information I possess on the subject.

So far as the purposes of this letter are concerned, the following, I am informed, are the general facts in the case. There is in Italy, and especially in Rome, a vast but scattered accumulation of archives, and of documents of more or less historical value;—these are in public and private repositories in various cities and residences, while those of an ecclesiastical character are, or were, more especially at Rome, some in the Vatican, some in the Propaganda, and some in the hands of the several monastic Orders. These several accumulations have from time to time been injured by transfers of possession, as well as by direct spoliation and processes of removal. For instance, the first Napoleon caused large bodies of papers to be carried to Paris, and many documents of value are believed to have disappeared at that time. Wellnigh innumerable other documents have from time to time, from lack of proper care in their custody, been stolen, or carelessly taken. But, so far as my present purpose is concerned, the most disastrous event of all was probably what occurred in connection with the Sardinian occupation of Rome on the eventful 20th of September, 1870. When, on that day, Victor Emmanuel entered Rome, the so-called Cancellaria and the Propaganda, as well as the Church of St. Peter's and the Vatican, were, in accordance with the fixed policy of the Kingdom of Italy, left undisturbed in the hands of the Pope as necessary adjuncts of his Spiritual Dominion. This secured two of the great bodies of archives—that of the Vatican and that of the Propaganda—from injury by interference. But the same immunity was not extended to the other bodies of archives,—and those in which we, as Americans, are probably more immediately interested,—I refer to the archives of the monastic and missionary Orders,—the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits. On the contrary, by a decree issued shortly after the 20th of September, the name and exact date of which are not essential to my present purpose, the archives and papers of these Orders were declared public, or royal, property, and ordered to be seized; and Baedeker says (*Central Italy and Rome*, 12th ed. 1897, pp. 130, 131) that the present *Biblioteca Centrale Vittorio Emanuele* “(500,000 volumes, and several thousand MSS.) was formed in 1871 from the library of the Jesuits and suppressed convents.” Meanwhile there is reason to suppose that what was naturally to be expected in process of this transfer then took place. In anticipation of forcible dispossession, the archives were broken up, and, to a large extent, removed. The present whereabouts of the papers thus removed is certainly not matter of general information, and I cannot find that, if they still exist, they have ever been examined with a view to their bearing on American

history; the portion not removed, and which passed into the hands of the government, is now in the Library Victor Emmanuel, and in the Archivio di Stato, in the Vicolo Valdina at Rome, and has been more or less examined.

I have also seen Professor Lanciani, who, in addition to his well-known researches into the antiquities of Rome, has incidentally in his examination of the archives and private collections come upon much relating to America. Professor Lanciani confirms the above statements in all essential respects, and he is under an impression that the necessary preliminary examination could be made in a comparatively short time. Professor Lanciani also referred specifically to a valuable diplomatic correspondence in relation to the discovery of America, traces of which existed in the Vatican, though the original papers may have disappeared wholly or in part at the time of the sack of Rome by the army of the Constable of Bourbon in 1527. On one quite important point the indications given by Professor Lanciani differ from those I had derived from Mr. Bliss. While speaking in the strongest terms of his belief in the extent of the information which might reasonably be hoped for from the several sources here, — even going so far as to say that he thought considerable portions of American history might need to be re-written in the light of the new discoveries, — while, I say, going even to this extent, Professor Lanciani did not think that the correspondence of the several missionary Orders — Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits — had been seized by the State under the decree of 1870, or would now be found in the Public Archives. That decree, he told me, related merely to muniments of title and matters of official record, and not to private or ecclesiastical papers. These last, which would include the papers of American historical interest, were left undisturbed in the hands of the Orders, and should there be looked for. This material, as well as that in the possession of the Propaganda, is very large; but to what degree it has been examined I am not advised, nor does Professor Lanciani, or any one else that I have yet heard of, know in how far, if at all, it bears upon American history, or, indeed, where it is.

As to access to the material referred to, and the necessary facilities for examining it, neither Mr. Bliss nor Professor Lanciani thought the difficulties insuperable, provided only the work were approached in a true historic spirit. The Propaganda might prove the most difficult. But even in the case of the Propaganda, if the authorities in charge were satisfied that the researches proposed would be confined to the discovery of historical data relating to a more or less remote past, suspicions might be allayed. As to the several missionary Orders, Professor Lanciani, with great kindness, offered to institute private inquiries among his friends, which not improbably might indicate where

the desired records may now be preserved, whether in Italy, in France, or in Spain. I hope to hear further from him on the subject at no remote day. He also expressed the opinion that the necessary researches could best be conducted in the way suggested by Mr. Haskins, in the extract I have quoted from his paper, — that is, in connection with a well and efficiently organized American School in Rome. This Professor Lanciani informed me was no new idea of his; he had, in fact, long since put himself formally on record to that effect. It is unnecessary to point out that any Society interesting itself in this research could act most effectively through the agency of such a School.

Meanwhile, it may not be inexpedient for me, in view of the very thorough investigations which have of late been carried on in Italy, to emphasize the fact that, in the particular field to which I have in this letter confined myself, — the field of the Propaganda, so far as its accumulations of material may relate to America, and the private archives of the missionary Orders under the same limitations, — in this particular and somewhat narrowed field, almost everything is surmise. It is well known that a vast mass of historical material exists, either very partially or not at all as yet examined, and some of it unquestionably relates to America, though how much, or in what degree, no one can yet say; while, of course, it is matter of common knowledge, that the Church of Rome, both directly and through its various Orders, the headquarters of which were here, interested itself deeply and actively in the early development of the continents discovered by Columbus. It is needless to add that any finds from this source would be in the direct line of the investigations heretofore made by Prescott and Parkman, and complementary thereto; while, on the other hand, the propriety of more systematic investigations being initiated and conducted by the Society which is the custodian of the Parkman papers is, did circumstances permit, apparent. A great field of activity and usefulness would be opened to it.

It only remains to speak of the scope and extent of any examination which might be begun, and its approximate cost. Obviously it would be quite useless — in fact, a mere waste of time and money — to enter upon such an examination as that proposed unless sufficient means were provided to carry it on when once begun, systematically and comprehensively, and to a definite conclusion. It would be necessary to find, at any rate in part, where documents are, before learning what they may contain. A wide field is to be explored, and an incredible amount of papers examined. Under such circumstances any estimate of time and money necessary for the work must be unreliable; but, the best judgment I have been able to arrive at, after consulting those whose examinations in other directions in the same field render their opinions

of value, is that some five years of time and an expenditure of \$10,000 might suffice for the preliminary work. It would then be possible to judge what, if anything, should further be done. The sum is considerable, — almost, indeed, the quarter of one per cent of the cost of a modern battle-ship, — and yet, from what I have here seen and learned, I am tempted to express the belief that even this sum, thus expended, would, in the course of another century, be looked upon as spent not less profitably than the much larger amount required in the construction of what is known as a “commerce destroyer”; especially if the former, and lesser, amount should, as may not unreasonably be hoped, lead to unearthing what perchance might prove to be a buried Pompeii of historical lore. The comparison is suggestive; and, indeed, it is difficult to avoid a tendency to a slight touch of cynicism when one contrasts the lavish expenditure on armaments and war material apparent everywhere, with the severe and even cheese-paring economies observed as respects investigations of the utmost historical import. The government of the United States, for instance, in common with those of Spain and Portugal, has, from motives of economy, no agent or representative of a Public Record Office at work to-day in the archives of Italy.

Believe me, etc.,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

HENRY W. HAYNES, Esq.,
Corresponding Secretary, etc.

The reading of the letter elicited interesting remarks from the FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT, and from Messrs. WILLIAM R. THAYER, MORTON DEXTER, and EDWARD G. PORTER.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN presented, in behalf of Mr. Charles H. Hart, of Philadelphia, a Corresponding Member, a copy of the Everett medal, and read an extract from Mr. Hart's letter to himself, as follows: —

“As you say the Historical Society has not a copy of the Edward Everett medal, I take pleasure in sending a proof for its acceptance. It was one of the first struck for the engraver, Anthony Conrad Paquet, before he delivered the dies, and he presented it to me as the best head he had engraved. Mr. Paquet was born in Hamburg of French parentage, December 5, 1814. He was probably the most skilful medalist we have had in this country, whither he came in October, 1848, and settled in Philadelphia. Nine years later he became assistant engraver in the United States Mint, a position he held until 1864. His ability as a designer and die-sinker is generally recognized and fully exhibited by the delicate modelling and fine relief of this Everett medal. He was the designer and engraver of the well-known Mint Cabinet medal, which

but it did not come within the scope of his work to consider the hearts of those from whom Sumner separated himself. He voluntarily caused the separation, from motives which I have no thought of questioning or criticising. They are undoubtedly considered to do him honor. But it was not in human nature, as we know it, for those whom he left to have acted otherwise than as they did, and I presume that no one blames them for having resented Sumner's acts and words.

The Whig party existed under that name for a little less than the quarter century between 1830 and 1855. It was successful in only two presidential elections, — 1840 and 1848; and the former of these, seemingly a triumph, was the barrenest sort of victory. The laurels turned to the bitterest ashes. It only had complete control of the national government, President, Senate, and House of Representatives, for the month's presidency of William Henry Harrison. During the next twenty-three months its nominal rule was of the most uncertain kind, and never after did it hold more than two of the three co-ordinate branches of the American Parliament. It was strong in several States, among which Massachusetts stood high, — one of the faithful four which voted against Pierce in 1852. In 1840 it was at first hopeful of victory, and then flushed with the victory it had won.

At that time among the older Whigs, leaders of the party, more particularly in Eastern Massachusetts, were Webster, Davis, Lincoln, Gorham, Lawrence, Everett, and my father, few of whom, if any, were really old men. Adams, Winthrop, Hillard, Curtis, Sumner, and Motley were the leaders of a group of young men, to whom the elders looked for their successors, who should perpetuate all that was good and honorable in the record of the party, and who should carry it on to greater good and higher honor in the future. In the case of the three men of whom I first spoke, Nathan Appleton on one side, Winthrop and Sumner on the other, a stronger feeling existed, and political sympathy and pride were mingled with deep personal admiration and affection. A few years earlier Phillips would have held a place second to none of the younger men. And when Phillips was followed by Adams and Sumner, the older men had reason for anxious thought and grief. The personal separation had come, even if political prospects seemed as yet undimmed; and it is the personal separation which I have most

in mind, and which I wish to emphasize. Sumner might sadly say, "There was a time when I was welcome at almost every house within two miles of us, but now hardly any are open to me." But the occupants of those houses might say with equal or greater sadness, "There was a time when Charles Sumner was gladly welcomed here as guest, but he has left us." It may be that those whose life was less in the future than the past were the more to be pitied.

The Whigs of Massachusetts did not approve of slavery; on the contrary, many of them had denounced it in the strongest terms, and would gladly have seen its end. But they looked on it as an unavoidable condition of the existence of the Union, which seemed to them worthy of almost every kind of sacrifice. In comparison with its preservation the rights of the black race seemed small indeed, and might be left to the wisdom of a Divine Providence, which should turn the Southern States to a better way.¹

In such circumstances Charles Sumner announced that he could no longer act with the Whig party, and condemned its leaders and their acts in very strong words. His great abilities and fine qualities were not accompanied by an appreciation of the force of the English language. Small wonder then that Winthrop, his as yet more successful contemporary, broke forth in words of bitter indignation. Small wonder that an older man wrote, "I have regretted your course the last two years. But more in sorrow than in anger." My father felt that their deep friendship and familiar intercourse had come to a full stop. Neither Winthrop nor Appleton were men, had he acted otherwise than as he did. Fortunate were they, to whom political antagonism was as nothing in comparison with other sympathies. Prescott among his books was almost to be envied; one would say wholly to be envied, but for his sad physical infirmity. He could enjoy equally the friendship of Ticknor on the one hand, and of Sumner on the other. But not to many was such good fortune given.

¹ Nathan Appleton wrote in 1851: "His [Sumner's] views on the slavery question if adopted by the people of the north will certainly lead to a dissolution of the Union, and nearly as certainly to a civil war & bloodshed, & with great probability to a general massacre of the blacks. . . . So much for slavery & negrodom. I prefer to leave them to the wise God who made them rather than to excite our passions, and perhaps cut our throats, about a matter which so little concerns ourselves."

The Whig party of Massachusetts was rent in twain. Victorious later in 1852 and 1858, these successes were but the last struggles of the dying body. But when it fell, Massachusetts fell a long way with it. Neither the Commonwealth nor the Whigs claimed to be omniscient; but both fell at the blow — shall we say the foul blow? — of a party which lives in history under the name of Know Nothing. Massachusetts rose again; the Whig party could not. With whatever of merit it may claim, with whatever of fault it would gladly disown, its course was run, its record was closed.

But in 1861 where were the survivors of the Whigs of Massachusetts? I think we can understand what their feelings must have been. Grief and astoundment must have contended for the mastery, — grief at the approach of that which they had devoted their lives to avert; astoundment that such madness had seized such numbers, and that their old friends at the South were powerless for good, if not even active for harm. But with, perhaps, no exception the Whigs of Massachusetts were among the most loyal of citizens. The addresses of Everett and Winthrop, on presenting flags respectively to the Twelfth and Twenty-second Regiments of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, were not surpassed for lofty patriotism. Right by the side of Webster's words, "Not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured," we may put, "A Star for every State, and a State for every Star." My father, lying on his bed of death, could do nothing but contribute freely of his abundant means. His cousin William Appleton, — perhaps, except Crittenden, the last Whig in public life, — victorious over Burlingame the previous autumn, at the age of seventy-four resumed his old seat in the House of Representatives at the extra session of July, and without hesitation gave his vote for Galusha A. Grow as Speaker. Devoting all his energies to his work on the Committee of Ways and Means in the heat of a Washington summer, he returned home only to resign his seat, and in a few months to die of simple physical exhaustion, caused by his faithful labors.

I have written these words not by way of vindication of the old Whigs of Massachusetts, for they need no vindication, and I have less than no claim to be their vindicator. But I have long felt that some such statement as I have tried to make ought to be made, and I know not where to find it. It hardly



The tablet does not say where Charlestown was, not even in what country; but as New York is mentioned it is readily assumed that Charlestown is somewhere in that part of the world.

This unexpected honor bestowed upon Finley Morse is worthy of our notice, showing, as it does, how far-reaching is the fame of a man whose life has been of positive service to mankind. And Italy, which leads all other countries in the practice of erecting memorial tributes to her own eminent citizens, is not unmindful of the fact that she has herself been honored by the presence of illustrious visitors, such as Goethe, Scott, and Morse, each of whom has now a tablet in Rome. These tablets are usually erected by the municipal authorities, and bear the ancient official designation of S. P. Q. R. The Via dei Prefetti is quite near Hilda's Tower, in the Via Portoghese, which every reader of Hawthorne will remember.

In the brilliancy of Morse's later career as an electrician, the world is likely to forget that during the first half of his life he was an artist, and was in Rome at this period to paint a number of pictures for which he had received orders before leaving America. He spent much of his time at the Vatican, copying from Raphael and other masters. Among his friends at Rome that winter were Fenimore Cooper, Theodore Woolsey, Horatio Greenough, Horace Vernet, Thorwaldsen, Gibson, and Wyatt. Morse was much impressed by Thorwaldsen, and painted his portrait for Philip Hone, the New York mayor. That portrait, through the generosity of the late John Taylor Johnston, has since found its way to Denmark, where it is one of the recognized treasures of the royal gallery.

Indeed Morse had achieved a great reputation as an artist. His portraits of President Monroe, Chancellor Kent, Jay, Lafayette, De Witt Clinton, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Bryant, and other persons of note brought him many commissions.

It is interesting to know that Morse's first work, after leaving college, was a somewhat ambitious study of the "Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth," painted in his father's parsonage on the hill, and forgotten for more than half a century when it was found, with the artist's name on the back of it, amid the rubbish in the attic of the City Hall at Charlestown. It was brought down and hung in the mayor's office, and it

may now be seen on the walls of the Public Library in the same building. The canvas is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There are two prominent figures. One, partly enveloped in a cloak, stands apparently in the prow of a small open boat. The other, on the right, is a fine tall figure, with belt, sash, and drawn sword, leather breeches and high topboots, wading in the water. Between them two men are dimly seen in the boat, one of them pointing toward the shore.

It was this picture,¹ crude as it is, and another executed at about the same time, — perhaps “Marius on the Ruins of Carthage,” — that led Stuart and Allston to persuade Morse’s father to send him to England to pursue his art studies. He sailed with Allston in 1811, and worked under his tuition in London four years, sharing a studio with Leslie, and frequently aided by West. Such was the progress of young Morse, that within two years he took the gold medal at the Adelphi for a model of the “Dying Hercules.”

Among his pupils, after he returned from Rome in 1832, was Daniel Huntington, who calls him his “dear master and father in art,” but says that Morse’s studio was already being transformed into a laboratory. Portraits and landscapes still grew upon his easel, but “galvanic batteries and mysterious lines of wire” occupied the larger share of his thoughts, and he seemed “like an alchemist of the middle ages in search of the philosopher’s stone.”

In view of the marvellous success that finally crowned Professor Morse’s patient efforts in science, I may call your attention to a unique and almost prophetic description of him as an infant by Dr. Belknap, whom it is always safe to quote in this room. In a letter² to his friend Hazard, dated Boston, 29th April, 1791, he says: “If the Monmouth Judge is with you, congratulate him on the birth of a grandson . . . Next Sunday he is to be loaded with names, not quite so many as the Spanish ambassador . . . but *only four*; viz., Samuel Finley Breese Morse. They intend to go through the catalogue at once. . . . As to the child, I saw him asleep, so can say nothing of his eye, or his genius peeping through it. He may have the sagacity of a Jewish Rabbi, or the profundity of a Calvin, or the sublimity of a Homer, . . . but time will bring forth all things.”

¹ Prime’s Life of Morse, p. 738.

² Belknap Papers, II. 254.

Having spoken of the tablet in Rome, I ought to say that, in addition to the statue in Central Park, there are in our country two marble inscriptions to the memory of this illustrious man. One is placed upon the front of the house in Charlestown in which he was born,¹ a venerable three-story wooden mansion now somewhat dismantled, No. 201 Main Street, a few doors west of Dr. Ellis's Church. The other is seen upon the brownstone four-story house, No. 5 West Twenty-second Street, New York.² Here the inventor spent the later years of his life in the enjoyment of his well-earned honors; and here he died in 1872.

I might add that the Roman municipality has recently honored another of our countrymen in the new quarter by the Tiber, near Monte Testaccio, where a street has been laid out bearing the name Via Benjamino Franklin. And it is in genial company, so far as names are concerned; for, leading into it, I noticed Via Alessandro Volta and Via Galvani.

Mr. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, Maine, was elected a Corresponding Member.

¹ In the east rear chamber. A view of this house, as it was before the recent changes, is given in the *Memorial History of Boston*, III. 553.

² See *Harper's Weekly*, 1896, Nov. 7, p. 1101.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1897.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at twelve o'clock, M.; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library for the last month was also read.

The Hon. CHARLES R. CODMAN presented the memoir of the late Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

Major William R. Livermore, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

The Hon. MELLON CHAMBERLAIN called attention to the new volume of Collections, — 6th series, vol. ix., — which was ready for distribution at this meeting, and spoke in substance as follows : —

A new volume of our Collections, entitled "The Bowdoin and Temple Papers," is laid on the table to-day. It consists mainly of the correspondence of Governor James Bowdoin and his son-in-law, Sir John Temple, during the Revolutionary period, with persons of distinction in England or America, among whom were John and Abigail Adams, Samuel Adams, William Bollan, the colony agent in London, Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy, Mr. Speaker Cushing, Dr. Franklin, General Gage, Admiral Gambier, George Grenville, David Hartley, Admiral Howe, Viscount Samuel Hood, General Arthur St. Clair, Governor Trumbull, General James Warren, General Washington, Thomas Whately, and Professor John Winthrop. These papers are of great value, as they relate to a most interesting period of the English colonies in America, — the period in which they achieved their independence; but their special value consists in this: that it is the only collection of letters known to me, written by men of exact knowledge of the questions at issue, and of the highest character, who took

opposite sides in the impending conflict, — men who, firm in their political convictions, were not partisans, still less demagogues who appealed to special interests or popular prejudices, but such as had the welfare of both sections of the empire at heart, and were willing to make sacrifices to secure it; and the impression I receive from reading their correspondence is not unlike that which would be made by listening to the conversation of a dozen intelligent gentlemen in a quiet room — not in a representatives' chamber with galleries full of their constituents — who were desirous of reaching conclusions dishonorable to neither, but advantageous to both parties.

I will only add in this connection that these papers will enhance the already high reputation of James Bowdoin, and serve somewhat to modify the historic judgment respecting Sir John Temple. From circumstances stated in the preface, they hitherto have been overlooked, but now are happily brought to light. They form a part of the priceless store of historical manuscripts now by inheritance in the possession of our associate Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., who, with Charles C. Smith and myself, are the Committee of Publication; but as my connection with this Committee has been merely nominal and limited to the kindly accorded privilege of reading the proofs, both in galley and revise, I think that as I have had some acquaintance with this kind of work, I need not hesitate to say that, in my judgment, the Society is under great obligations to my associates for the admirable manner in which they have performed a task which seldom receives due recognition.

Of more value would be a just estimate of the light which these letters throw upon the true history of the American Revolution, and upon two conspicuous actors therein. It cannot be said that they disclose facts of importance hitherto unknown; but they place many things in such relation that we may see both sides of the questions which they raised. This is not the way in which too much of our history has been written. The value of the work of our most eminent historian, notwithstanding great and manifold excellences, is impaired by its manifest partisanship. Without concealing or misstating essential facts, he so arranges them that his reader is taught to believe that one party was always and wholly in the right, and the other always and wholly in the

wrong, which never was, and probably never will be, the case. If we accept his presentation of the Revolutionary period, we must believe that when, after the frightful expenditures incurred in the war with France, which resulted in the transfer of the Canadas to the British Crown, greatly to the military prestige of England, but mainly to the security of the northern English colonies, the British government undertook to readjust the political, commercial, and financial relations of the colonies, chiefly in respect to their future defence, its measures were dictated solely by its own interests, and prosecuted in a despotic and even a malignant spirit; and on the other hand, that the resistance of the colonies was purely in the spirit of liberty unalloyed by pecuniary considerations; that their constitutional views of their own rights and of their relations to the Crown did not admit of serious argument, and that the mob violence to property and even to the persons of those whose only offence was a difference of opinion, was pardonable, if not justifiable. The Bowdoin and Temple papers lend no countenance to such notions.

Neither does common sense, nor the later experience of our general government in dealing with circumstances not dissimilar; and, least of all, do the accepted rules of historical criticism when applied to the action of those who promoted, or of those who opposed, the Revolution. The later critical spirit is illustrated by an anecdote told to me by our late associate Dr. Charles Deane, whose historical writings afford some of the best examples of it. It was to this effect: that after he had read his paper on the Convention at Saratoga in 1777, before the Antiquarian Society, several elderly gentlemen said, in substance: "Mr. Deane, your paper is both instructive and interesting; but out of regard to the 'memory of the fathers,' we hope you will not print it without omitting such facts as seem to reflect on their conduct." "I replied," continued Dr. Deane, "that if then, or after a more careful examination of the paper, they would point out any error of fact, or any judgment which the facts would not fairly warrant, I would reject or modify, as justice might require; and though I had no desire to have my paper appear in the Proceedings against the wishes of any member, yet, if it appeared at all, it must appear as I had written it, subject of course to the correction of errors." Their reply

was: "Mr. Deane, doubtless your facts are accurate, and your inferences just; doubtless the Congress persistently refused to fulfil the stipulations of the Convention: nevertheless, consider the 'memory of the fathers.'" These old gentlemen were able, intelligent, and candid men, their respect for "the memory of the fathers" commendable, and their grief on the occasion rather touching; but the trouble with them was, as it has been with many others, that all their lives they had been reading American history inspired by Fourth of July orations and Thanksgiving sermons! Dr. Deane had simply set forth the facts.

The spirit which seems to inspire historical students in these later days, both at home and abroad, prompts to the search for origins, and to the tracing of national development, distinguishing between causes which operate within the limits of general laws and those which seem to be accidental. And here I ask attention to a recent publication by Harry A. Cushing, Ph.D., tutor in history, Columbia University. It is entitled "History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts." I have read it twice and with the highest satisfaction. This work covers the period of our Revolution, which the author seems to regard as inevitable, and, on the whole, wisely conducted; but he is not blind to the difficulties, constitutional, legal, and practical, which confronted the patriots, nor to the questionable way in which they often met them. The Bowdoin and Temple Papers, less consecutively than those cited by Mr. Cushing, mark the stages of transition from provincial to commonwealth government in Massachusetts; but they indicate, perhaps quite as clearly, that the American Revolution was no improvised affair, resulting from a proposed — not an actually levied — tax, but that it was the successful culmination of a contest inevitable from the first settlement of the colony. It was a normal development of an English germ curiously and pleasantly contrasted with the failure of the germ of English literature which by good right the first emigrants might have brought with them, but apparently did not. Our English ancestors who came to Boston Bay may have been playmates in English meadows, as well with Shakspeare and Jonson as with Coke and Selden. Certainly they were joint heirs with them to the genius of their race, and to the splendid litera-

ture of the Elizabethan age; yet when they left their native shores, they left behind this rich inheritance to the loss of which their descendants for two hundred years seemed insensible. But whatever else they may have left behind, *they did not leave their "English Liberties"!*

For quite different is the history of the Puritan farmers, mechanics, merchants, and their few educated associates who, soon after landing, gathered in communities which became towns sending representatives to the General Court; and whose records, town, church, and court, from the beginning, evince clear and exact conceptions of their inalienable rights as Englishmen, their constitutional rights under their charter, and of their relations to the royal government. So complete and exact were their conceptions of these various rights at this early period, that their history down to the Revolution, in these respects, shows hardly a trace of those stages of development which usually precede revolutions; and when needed there came, as out of the ground, to the front of both parties a succession of able lawyers like Prat, Sewall, Gridley, Otis, Thatcher, John Adams, and Daniel Leonard, each of whom with a little special training could have filled with credit any judicial chair in England. These lawyers versed in legal and constitutional questions which arose in the often conflicting legislation of Parliament and the General Court, were quick to discern the least invasion of colonial rights; but not more quick than were James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren and many others without legal training, who nevertheless, inheriting not only that spirit of English liberty, but also those intuitions of constitutional principles of the first emigrants, were among the earliest and most efficient of those who brought on and successfully conducted the Revolution which secured their own rights, and was not without influence in promoting those of other people.

Of these men Samuel Adams is accounted the "father of the American Revolution"; and justly. But the critical student of the history of those times marvels that James Bowdoin is never mentioned with "the Otises, the Adamses, the Warrens, and the Hancocks"; for he discovers that Bowdoin rendered services second to those of no other, and under circumstances which ordinarily disqualify one for leadership in a revolution. His fortune was ample; his assured position in

public affairs such as would satisfy ordinary ambition ; his scientific and literary studies were engrossing ; he was in intimate social relations with British officials, such as General Gage, Commodore Hood, General Mackay, and Admiral Gambier, who frequented Boston ; and among his particular friends (including some relatives) who adhered to the Crown, were the Olivers, Robert and John Temple, the latter his son-in-law, John Erving, Jr., Thomas Flucker, Samuel Quincy, Jonathan Sewall, and Colonel Isaac Royall, among the most eminent and respected citizens of Massachusetts.

These circumstances probably influenced the estimate of him by the people whom he appears never to have courted ; and doubtless he lacked some of those qualities which attract them. Nevertheless, this quiet gentleman — always and everywhere a gentleman — was a Whig from the beginning ; and neither his independent fortune, nor his aristocratic position, nor his personal friendships, nor that conservatism which culture is supposed to engender, swerved him by a hair's breadth, or for a moment deadened his zeal in the patriotic cause till its complete triumph. Hutchinson regarded Bowdoin as unmanageable in the Council as Adams in the General Court, and as efficient in bringing forward and carrying forward the Revolution. Each was leader of the body of which he was a member ; and it has been noticed (Hosmer's Hutchinson, page 118), that under Bowdoin's lead the Council sometimes went further in opposition than the popular Assembly under the lead of Adams. And yet, like Washington and Jay who said and did great things, Bowdoin never suggested or countenanced any act, nor said any recorded word, which causes regret in later days.

Without legal training, and seemingly by intuition, he formed conceptions of provincial rights under the Charter which are now regarded as constitutional ; no statesman had larger views of the rights of British subjects, wherever found ; and no one that I have noticed had a firmer conviction that, though the threatened conflict might be postponed by a change of colonial policy, which he advocated in the Petition to the King, July 7, 1768, with a precision unsurpassed before or later, nevertheless, that a separation of the colonies from the Crown was ultimately inevitable. I have dwelt thus at length on the claims of James Bowdoin to a higher place than he now occupies on

the roll of our Revolutionary statesmen ; but not as a discovery. Many years ago, his great-grandson, Robert C. Winthrop, our late honored President, published a paper on the subject, which I read at the time, but have purposely avoided re-reading, so that from the examination of original materials I might form an unbiassed judgment ; and it is this : that few of our public men have rendered greater services to Massachusetts than James Bowdoin, or which deserve a fuller exemplification than they have received.

Sir John Temple, whose name is linked with that of his father-in-law in the title of these papers, is a large contributor to the contents of this volume ; and his correspondence, especially that with Thomas Whately, George Grenville's secretary, is of great value. Temple's abilities and services to the cause of the patriots are beyond question ; and equally so, that he was regarded with vague suspicion by some of his contemporaries, and by not a few of later days, of whom I am one. But I ought to add that I brought to the examination of his character and services as presented in this volume a deeply seated prejudice growing out of his alleged connection with the abstraction and transmission to Boston of the "Hutchinson Letters," — a violation of the sacredness of private letters that covered the chief actor in the affair with disgrace which neither his great services, nor the lapse of time, nor special pleading in his behalf, has removed. It is not to be forgotten, however, that many honorable men in the colony, regarding the public interest as paramount in consideration to the means by which it was promoted, reluctantly, it is to be hoped, withheld their protest.

Neither by proof nor by Temple's statements is his part in this affair determinable with precision. In 1779 Bowdoin, Cushing, Chauncy, Cooper, and Samuel Adams united in a certificate that he had "a claim in reason and equity to a compensation for his great sufferings in the zealous service of it [the affair of the letters], and to be regarded by it with particular gratitude and respect" (page 436). In a letter to Franklin, 1781, he says that notwithstanding the conjecture of the English Ministry, "they [his friends in Boston] never had the least knowledge or intimation of my having had any share or hand in bringing these documents to light and to the eyes of my country. I told them I had been privy to the

whole transaction ; *that it was through my means that you were able to obtain them ; that they were obtained in an honorable way*" (page 461). In a letter to the President of the Senate, September 1, 1782, in which he excoriates James Sullivan, afterwards governor, he challenges proof that in a certain memorial he "declared that he did procure and send the said letters to this country, or that he had demanded any kind of reward or compensation for having sent them" (page 480). Temple's statements in these extracts may be taken as literally true ; but they suggest something not unlike special pleading, and each reader may form his opinion whether he is fairly entitled to share that charitable consideration which all will readily accord to Bowdoin, Chauncy, and Cooper.¹

Temple was a politician,—a character less common in his day than in ours,—mainly depending upon the emoluments of office for a living ; but it is to his credit that, unlike another politician of his day, he never, so far as is known, appropriated the public money to his own use. His vigorous discharge of his duties as one of the Commissioners of Customs of Boston, though inclined to the liberal party, made him obnoxious to the highly respectable smugglers in that town. In 1770, having been dismissed from his office, he went to England and laid his complaint before the ministry with such effect that he was appointed Surveyor-General of Customs, which office he held until 1774, when with Franklin, on account of their connection with the affair of the Hutchinson Letters, both were dismissed from office. In 1778 Temple, who had been some time in England, came over to America, but returned in 1779. After the Treaty of Peace, he was British Consul-General to the United States, residing chiefly at New York, where he died in 1798.

Temple's position and actions almost inevitably caused him to be doubted by both parties in his day, and are not unlikely to have prevented a just estimate of his character since. His elder brother was a loyalist, a "Hutchinson Addresser," a "Mandamus Councillor," and a refugee ; and Sir John finally returned to his native land as an officer of the Crown. His aggressive disposition and free speech made him bitter enemies ; but he retained the confidence of his high-minded father-in-

¹ An interesting paper respecting the Hutchinson Letters, by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, is in our Proceedings, vol. xvi. pp. 41-50.

law, as well as of the most eminent English liberals and Massachusetts Whigs.

The Bowdoin and Temple papers, as has been said, differ from most similar collections in consisting mainly of public documents, or letters written under a sense of responsibility, and contrasting with many in those days which were effectual, if not intended, to mislead the people. They are of great value, therefore, as showing the sincere opinions of reasonable men of both parties in respect to pending questions. They also correct popular errors then rife and since conspicuous in recent histories of considerable reputation. Two charges against the British ministry which conducted colonial affairs, greatly incensed the colonists. The first was, that the new policy inaugurated by Grenville, after the frightful expenditures incurred in the subjugation of the Canadas, was designed to draw a revenue from the colonies to be applied to the payment of the debt thus incurred; and that this policy was adopted without consideration of their ability to contribute money for that purpose, or of their wishes in respect to the mode of raising it. Connected with this was the even more alarming statement that all moneys so raised were to be remitted to England, thus draining the colonies of their specie.

Another charge which still lives, was that the modification of the charter of Massachusetts in 1774, instead of being the consummation of a plan duly considered and determined upon without special reference to any particular exigency, was a malignant exercise of power provoked, but not justified, by the destruction of the tea in 1773. No historian who had investigated the facts could have fallen into this error; but not a few seem to have deemed it unpatriotic to dispel it! An instructive and typical example of parliamentary legislation for the colonies, on important subjects, is the enactment of the "Molasses Act" of 1733, which caused great discontent in Massachusetts, as seriously affecting one of her great industries,—that of distilling rum from molasses for West-India consumption. This act was made inoperative by reason of the great inducements it offered to smuggling, which led to its modification in 1764; and its enforcement was one of the causes of the Revolution. The original act was reported in 1731, but few legislative measures were consummated with greater deliberation, or more earnest efforts to learn the opinions of the

colonists, expressed in petitions and remonstrances, and what justice required. Its passage was undoubtedly a political and economic mistake; nevertheless, it accorded with the accepted political economy of that day, though it was unsuccessfully combated by speeches,—especially by one of Oglethorpe's, of great power,—enunciating fundamental principles which we find in the "Wealth of Nations," and Mill's "Political Economy."

In like manner the modification of this act in 1764, and the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, were preceded by a careful investigation of the resources of the colonies, and endeavors to learn what subjects and mode of taxation were least objectionable to the colonists, as these papers indicate; and while I am far from saying that any thorough investigator of the history of this period would cite them as the sole source of facts absolutely essential to its completeness, speaking for myself, I find some matters both of fact and reason which throw new and important light on the questions in controversy between the colonies and the home government. In these discussions Temple appears to advantage.

In 1760 Temple, through the influence of George Grenville, his remote relative, obtained the Surveyor-Generalship of Customs, which office he filled with unprecedented vigor, and became thoroughly acquainted with all the devices for smuggling, and other evasions of the revenue laws so generally practised in those days by merchants of the highest standing in church and state. At the same time he studied the defects of those laws, and their effect on legitimate commerce. He also estimated the ability of the commercial colonists to contribute to a theoretically equitable share of the expense of their imperial defence and government; and, on the other hand, he seems to have appreciated the political wisdom of sacrificing a direct revenue to that vastly larger revenue which, sooner or later, accrues to the treasury from untaxed commerce.

His correspondent, Thomas Whately, Grenville's private secretary, and a joint Secretary of Treasury, was well acquainted with the financial needs of the government, and with the views of his chief as to the best mode of meeting them.

Temple and Whately, therefore, in a way, represented the

parties to the impending conflict; and, constrained by the limitation of time, I chiefly pass by other correspondents, and from the letters of these two make extracts which seem to me of value for explaining things which some historians either did not understand, or did not care to place in their true light.

June 8, 1764, Whately commends Temple's

"zeal to destroy the contraband trade which is carried on there [at Rhode Island], & I am afraid in almost every other part of America. . . . It is a favourite object of y^e present administration, & nothing will be omitted that can tend to accomplish it. The greatest pains is taken to procure all y^e information that they can in relation to the modes by which this illicit trade is carried on, & to apply proper remedies. As my present situation enables me to communicate any such information to those who will make the best use of it, I should be greatly obliged to you if you could furnish me with any." (Pages 19, 20.)

Again, August 14, Whately writes: —

"I ask you some questions in relation to . . . y^e stamp duty, which unless unforeseen objections occur will probably be extended next year to America. . . . I know there has been a stamp act in your Colony. I should be glad to know what was its product & on what articles it chiefly produced. What difficulties have occur'd in executing it? What objections may be made to it, & what additional provisions must be made to those in force here?" (Page 22.)

September 24, Temple replies: —

"I think upon the whole that things are now in such a way that all kinds of smuggling & irregular trade will in a great measure soon be at an end. But I do not apprehend that the revenue drawn from America will in any way answer what seems to be the expectation of Ministry. . . . Molasses is the principal article on w^{ch} any money worth mentioning can be raised, & on that I fear Parliament will find they have left too large a duty in 3d a gallon. The trade will either decline or methods will be found out thro' corrupt officers in the West Indies to naturalize foreign produce *there*, & introduce it to the northern Colonies as British growth. [Page 24.] . . . I come now to a more important affair, the *stamp duty*. This, I will suppose, as you say, is the most eligible & may be the most easily collected of any duty that can be laid, & will yield something handsome. . . . But then for a moment consider Great Britain & her Colonies on the larger scale, & see whither it will be expedient or prudent to lay such a

duty. It is a certain fact that the produce of all these Colonies in the course of trade goes now to Great Britain for her manufactories, and if they produced three times as much as they do it would all go for the same purpose. Our people are extravagantly fond of shew & dress, and have no bounds to their importation of British manufactories but their want of money. Suppose a stamp tax to take place & to yield sixty thousand a year to be collected in America & sent home, there would certainly be £60,000 worth of goods less imported from Great Britain, besides such a sum of money laying still in the coffers of the Crown instead of circulating in the Colonies, already very much drained of cash." (Pages 25, 26.)

This is the first expression that I have noticed of an assumption without foundation, but which, nevertheless, became a most effective popular cry at the time, and still echoes through later history. Whately will duly explain it; and I may add that Temple's able letter even now would be a suitable "Tract for the Times."

October 3, Temple writes:—

"We have already two or three vessells entered with foreign molasses at this port since the act took place & the three penny duty has been duly paid. The people seem tollerably reconciled to it." (Page 30.)

November 5, Whately replies:—

"I cannot help flattering myself that the duty on molasses will not be found on experiment so grievous as it is represented to be. . . . I own I do not give entire credit to all the objections raised on your side of the water. I doubt they are inclined to object to all taxes, and yet some are absolutely necessary." (Page 37.)

June 12, 1765, Whately stated his own, and doubtless Grenville's understanding of the intent and effect of the recent laws for raising a revenue from the colonies:—

"I find your people still alarm'd with the idea of their country being drain'd of all their money by the new taxes. The fact is that no more will be remitted from thence hither than will just be sufficient to pay the expence of office here, which will be very inconsiderable. . . . Thus the whole effect of these laws with respect to money will be no more than this, that supposing the expence of the military establishment in the Colonies should be £300,000 p ann. (which is much less than it really is) and supposing the American taxes should be £100,000 (which is more than I expect from them), then instead of £300,000 now remitted, Great Britain will remit but £200,000;

but America will remit none hither. On the contrary she will annually receive still £200,000, & none of the money now there or that hereafter may be sent thither will be brought on account of these taxes, except, as I mentioned before, the office expences, which will be very trifling. [Page 59.] . . . As you see so many different people in several provinces you can judge better perhaps than any one of their temper with respect to the new taxes. I hope that now they have had time to reflect & opportunities to examine the right of Parliament they do not think of the proceedings here in the same light as they were at first represented to them. I should be glad to know their present sentiments, & on what points they suppose they have reason to complain." (Page 61.)

In February, 1765, John Nelson wrote to Temple:—

"The most staunch freinds to the Colonies wishes they had not been so obstinate in the point of Right that the Crown had of imposing taxes. I am led to suppose they must have been wrong, because both within doors and without all I have heard speak on the subject at once give it against the Provinces, and allow the Power & Right. I have had an opp^y of hearing much on both sides, and even that great advocate Coll^o Barry [Col. Isaac Barré] at the grand debates fell in with the whole House in that respect, but at the same time endeavor'd to appologize for their so doing, giving for reason, their distresses urged them." (Page 46.)

Time allows no more than brief allusion to a few of the other interesting letters in this collection. For examples, that of Mauduit to Bowdoin in 1762, in which he writes: "I went with Mr Jackson to present to his Majesty the College Verses [*Pietas et Gratulatio*,] which are much approved of here. The dedication is a very masterly performance. I heartily wish that the hint which is so very hansomly given at the end of it could reach his Majesty's notice to the obtaining the royal countenance and assistance, which the College so well deservs" (page 13); the same to the same, in 1763, in which the colony agent mentions an objection often made to the provincial legislation, and in this case, that of the Lords to confirming an Act for erecting a Society for propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America, on the ground that the Province had no right to grant charters which should extend beyond their own jurisdiction, and also that it might be applied to oppose the measures of the Church

of England (page 15); that of Harrison to Temple in 1765, from which it appears that the prohibition of carrying lumber to Ireland was an oversight in drawing up the Act (page 44); two of Whately to Temple, in 1765, quite fully setting forth the policy and provisions of the proposed Stamp Act (pages 49, 52); and another between the same, in which Whately states the objections to the Act of Indemnity annexed to the Act of Compensation to the sufferers from the Stamp Act riots in 1765, on the ground that it usurped a royal prerogative, — that of granting pardons (page 81); those letters in 1769, which relate to the expedition to Lake Superior for observing the transit of Venus (pages 116–127); Bowdoin to Bollan, March 27, 1770, giving an account of the “Boston Massacre” (page 167); the petition of Richard Clarke and others, relative to the destruction of tea in 1773 (page 321), and Bollan’s account of the examination of Franklin before the Privy Council in 1774 (page 335). I will add that, as a whole, the value of this collection seems to me not surpassed by any other relating to the same period which I have seen.

The FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT then read the following paper on the manuscript of Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation: —

The renewed interest in the Bradford manuscript may justify a brief statement of the propositions which have been heretofore made respecting its return to this country.

It may be remembered that it was after Hutchinson’s day lost to scholars on this side of the Atlantic, till 1855. Hutchinson was the last writer known to have used it, and he left the country in 1774. One supposition is that he had borrowed it from the Prince Library, and had it in his possession when he went to England, and took it with him. Living later at Croydon, not far from Fulham, it has been claimed that he placed it in the custody of the Bishop of London. The other supposition is that some British officer or loyalist abstracted it from the tower of the Old South Church during the siege of Boston, and carried it away to Halifax. That this is more likely than the supposed act of Hutchinson is evident from the fact that Bradford’s letter-book was later discovered in Nova Scotia, having also been in the Prince Library; and that

two other books of that collection, both in manuscript, are still at Fulham, and they are not of a character likely to have attracted the attention of Hutchinson.

Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, used the manuscript at Fulham, and referred to it, but without connecting it with Bradford's name, when he published in 1844 his "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America." Anderson, who published in 1848 his "History of the Colonial Church," also used it, and distinctly says that it was written by Bradford, and that Prince's "Annals" was mainly based on it. Wilberforce's "History" was reprinted in New York in 1849. So attentive a student as Joseph Hunter had in the same year published in London his tract on the Pilgrims, without discovering Wilberforce's reference. Nor did any American scholar note it till 1855, when the statement in Wilberforce attracted attention. The clue to its existence thus found, a copy was procured for this Society and published in 1856; and it was not till six months later, October, 1856, that Dr. George H. Moore discovered the note in Anderson, after the question of its identity with Bradford's narrative had been settled. "I have reason to believe," wrote Dr. Moore to me at a later date, "that my notice of Anderson was really of some importance, and was the means of drawing attention to other sources of American history beside the Bradford."

The first suggestion to restore the book to this country was made in 1858, by a gentleman whom some may remember on his visit to this country thirty-odd years ago, the Rev. Dr. John Waddington. He borrowed the manuscript from Fulham, and showing it to an audience in Southwark, said: "So far as we know, not a person now living in the land of the Pilgrims has ever seen this manuscript. It has been kept at Fulham among the papers of no use to the See. It is not in the catalogue of the library, and probably is not reckoned in any inventory of the property. No one can tell how it came to Fulham." He then goes on in his address, which was called "An Evening with the Pilgrims," and urges that it be returned to America. There seems to be evidence that Porteus, who was Bishop of London from 1787 to 1808, was the founder of the library at Fulham, and he provided by will that it should be the property of his successors forever. There is no evidence, however, that the Bradford manuscript was included in the Porteus foundation,

and it is in doubt whether it was deposited at Fulham earlier or later than 1787. Hutchinson, it will be remembered, had died in 1780. The profession made by the Consistory Court of London in its recent judgment in the matter, that the register of names of the "Mayflower" passengers at the end of the book, was the probable ground of its being placed at Fulham, — since the Bishop of London was the immediate head of the American Church, — is wholly without evidence, and moreover the record of passengers as made by Bradford was not a contemporary registration.

Two years after Waddington's suggestion was made, our late President, Robert C. Winthrop, through the instrumentality of Archdeacon Sinclair, brought the question of surrender to the attention of the Bishop of London, then in office, with the suggestion that the Prince of Wales, then about going to the States, would be a fitting bearer of the book. It was urged that the sanction of the Queen would be sufficient warrant for the act; but the Bishop held that "alienating property of this kind could only be got over by an act of Parliament." So the matter dropped.

Seven years afterwards (1867) Mr. Hepworth Dixon, journeying in this country, saw in the Philadelphia Library some manuscript volumes which had strayed from the British Archives and had found lodgment in that library in 1799. The proprietors of the library, on thus being made aware of the importance of the volumes, sent them to the Master of the Rolls, and suitable acknowledgment was made for the courteous act. This surrender was in my mind, in 1869, when the late John Lothrop Motley, about to sail for England as the American minister, was in my office one day in the Boston Public Library. I mentioned the considerate conduct of the Philadelphia Library trustees, and told him that the British government could well reciprocate the courtesy and restore to the Prince Library, then in my custody, this Bradford manuscript. Mr. Motley eagerly seized the idea, and when he reached England he did not forget the promise which he had made to me. He saw the Bishop of London, and learned from him, as well as from the law officer of the crown, that an act of Parliament would be necessary. He wrote to me that the passage of such an act would be surer of success under a liberal ministry, — Disraeli was then in power, — and proposed

to delay, as a change of ministry at that time seemed likely. Mr. Motley's recall from London again brought a stay to proceedings.

In October, 1877, I was talking about this abortive effort with Canon Milman of St. Paul's, and he advised my going to Fulham to see the bishop, and gave me a letter of introduction. I went, but did not find the bishop at home; but one of his servitors took me into the library, and, opening a cupboard in one of the cases, I saw the familiar binding of our Collections on a volume standing beside a parchment-bound book, which proved to be the Bradford manuscript.

The bishop on his return wrote to me to ask for a conference, and from his letter he evidently suspected my motive in calling on him; but as I was unable to change my plans, I did not then see him. Later he wrote to me: "I have always regretted that I was not at home when you visited Fulham in 1877. I am not sure that it is sufficiently understood that the bishops of London are not the owners of the Bradford manuscript and many other documents of interest and value, and that they have no power of alienation. All these, like its library, the portraits and the furniture of the Chapel, belong to the See. The bishop for the time being is but the custodian; and if at his death any of the deposits were found missing, his representatives would be liable to be sued for damages."

In 1881 Benjamin Scott, then the Chamberlain of London, taking advantage of the sympathy for America just created by the death of President Garfield, made a public suggestion of returning the manuscript as a fitting evidence of that sympathy. The case of the restoration to France of the will of Napoleon I., when it had previously been in deposit at Canterbury, and the act of Parliament sustaining the Archbishop in making the surrender, was cited then, as it has been recently, as a precedent for such an alienation of diocesan property.

I last saw the manuscript in 1891, but failed to meet the bishop. When I noticed the tender care with which the precious memorial was treated, I came away with a growing conviction that it was unwise to attempt any further measures for its recovery.

No one had suggested up to that time the intercession of a

Consistory Court; and I was always told that an act of Parliament would be necessary, as in the case of the Napoleonic will, and that such an act would undoubtedly commit the manuscript to the keeping of the United States, as indeed may now be the case; for the judgment of the Chancellor, as printed in the "London Times" for March 25, 1897, commits the book "to his Excellency, the American ambassador, for safe transmission to the President and Senate of the United States, upon such conditions and security as the Court may determine." It is curious to observe how large a part Bradford's list of the Mayflower's passengers had in inducing the present Bishop of London to refer the petition which he had received to the Consistory Court, and how much the Chancellor was impressed, in ordering a surrender, with the necessity of protecting the "pecuniary interests of descendants of families named in it, in tracing and establishing their rights to succession to property." It was this possible importance of the manuscript in such cases natural in a community where entail is the rule, that caused any hesitation in acceding to the request of the petitioners. "Had this manuscript," said the Chancellor, "been solely of historical value, the Court would have had no hesitation in acting upon the precedent of the Library Company of Philadelphia."

If the conditions, which the Chancellor says he shall yet determine "in chambers," give this manuscript into the custody of the government at Washington, we may well regret the outcome of the petition. It is notorious in what a loose way important historical documents are sometimes cared for in the governmental departments. I have had several instances of indifference towards, and ignorance of, such documents in government officials, pressed upon my own notice in recent years, and within a month I have furnished to Professor Moore of Columbia University, who, I believe, is working on a government problem of international character, official evidence of acts in the Northeastern boundary controversy, of which we have copies in the College Library at Cambridge, and of which no trace could be found in the State department at Washington, though they are connected with the foundations of the present treaty arrangements.

The Bradford manuscript has in it the book plate of the Prince Library, and though there is doubt whether it was placed

there by Prince or by the deacons of the Old South Church, the fact that it is not filled out in writing as Prince was in the habit of doing when he himself inserted the plates, may not bar the claim of the Boston Public Library to possess the treasure, as a representative of the deacons, on the plea that the affixing of the plate is *prima facie* evidence of the surrender at that time of the claim of the Bradford heirs. There is strong reason to believe that the plate was not put in by Prince.

There are in Prince's hand some memoranda on the fly-leaves of the manuscript which acknowledge that on June 4, 1728, it came into his hands for use only, and that Major John Bradford, the grandson of Governor Bradford, and from whom he had received it, had not parted with property in the book. There is, moreover, in another note, a distinct averment that "Major Bradford and his heirs" are the "right owners" of it. This raises the question of moral if not legal ownership, involving the application of the law of limitations.

The book is in a sense the official promulgation of the history of Plymouth Colony, made by its executive, and involving official correspondence of its appointed leader. So it may also be a question if the claims of the Registry of Deeds at Plymouth — where other records of the colony are kept — are not, after all, paramount.

All these considerations, with the chance of controversy over its custody, render it by no means certain that to remove the precious record from Fulham was altogether wise. It is to be hoped it will prove so.¹

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated a copy of a letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel James Abercrombie shortly after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, and said:

In connection with the memorable events of April 19, 1775, I will read the following copy of a letter written soon after that date by an English officer of rank stationed in Boston to the venerable Cadwallader Colden, of New York. Necessarily his information, however inaccurate it may have been, was

¹ I traced the history of the Bradford manuscript and the methods of its identification in a paper (1888) printed in the Proceedings (vol. xix.) of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was also printed separately.

picked up from hearsay, as he took no part in the deeds of that day. Naturally it differs much from the accepted accounts of the expedition, and without doubt was gathered from the various reports in circulation at the time. In our army during the late Rebellion tales based on mere rumors of the camp were known as "sink stories." Occasionally, however, such reports, inexact as they may be, throw rays of side light, and help to clear up doubts and uncertainties; and for that reason they have an interest, if not a value.

The writer of the letter, Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, was mortally wounded while storming the works on Bunker Hill at the head of the grenadiers, and died on June 24. He was a gallant officer, and a brother of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Mr. Frothingham, in his "History of the Siege of Boston" (p. 195), says: "When the men were bearing him away from the field, he begged them to spare his old friend Putnam. 'If you take General Putnam alive,' he said, 'don't hang him; for he's a brave man.'" In Trumbull's well-known painting of the battle, Colonel Abercrombie is represented as having fallen on the ground in the heat of the action, where he is lying near General Warren.

To the courtesy of ex-Governor John D. Long, now the Secretary of the Navy, I am indebted for a copy of the letter which is given below:—

NAVY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
WASHINGTON, March 31, 1897.

DEAR DOCTOR,—I enclose you copy of a letter written soon after the Battle of Lexington, giving the British view. The original is in the possession of General Ruggles, who is now the Adjutant-General of the U. S. Army.

Very truly yours,

JOHN D. LONG.

DR. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN,
Librarian, Massachusetts Historical Society,
Boston, Massachusetts.

BOSTON May 2d 1775

DEAR SIR,—I arrived here the 23d April, & was much Surprised to find the town Blockaded, by the Asia I suppose Genl Gage will send you an Authentick Coppy of what happened on the 19th I have made the Strictest enquiry amongst the Officers and can assure you upon honor, that not One Shott was fired by any of the troops, till three men at Lexington fired on Our Men a Sergt a Soldier & Major Pitcairns

Horse were wounded by those three Shotts, Our Men destroyed Some Gun Carriages, three Guns and some flour at Concord, & no hostilities or rather Shotts were exchanged untill the return of four Companys of Light Infantry who were advanced three miles beyond Concord, on their return, on a Bridge within a mile of Concord they saw two of the Light Infantry extended on the Bridge one of them was Scalped and had his Ears and Nose Cut off tho' not dead, the moment the Light Infantry & Grenadeers began to retreat they were fired on from every House and fense along the Road for fifteen Miles, I cannot commend the behaviour of Our Soldiers on their retreat. As they began to plunder & payed no obedience to their Officers, fortunately for the Grenadeers & Light Infantry Lord Percys Brigade were Ordered Out to support them or the flower of this Army would all have been cut off,

By report they have thirty peices of Cannon and two Mortars at Cambridge, altho' they threaten yet I cannot believe they will raise Battaries against the Town, if they do I am certain I can take them, the Whigs are all leaving town & such of the Torys as pleases Come in, but they are few, Parties run as high as ever they did in Cromwels time, & was there not a Red Coat in the Country they would cut one anothers throats.

I cannot pretend to say what Our Generals will do, but I think it is in the power of the Congress to prevent the horrors of a civil War

The Colony of Connecticut have sent two of their Assembly with a letter to the General the purport of the letter is to prevent hostilities & hoping a method of pacification may yet be adopted.

I am sorry to hear the Phrenzy of the people has shewn itself in your Province, as a particular mark of distinction was Shewn them in the Fishing Bill I flattered myself they would have been quiet.

The Whigs have plundered the Houses of Judge Auchmuty Col. Vassals, & Hatches, and Captain Loring, what other devastations they have committed We have not heard.

I am glad to hear you are in good health and I have the honor to be
Dear Sir

your most Obedient humble Servant

JAMES ABERCROMBIE

Lt Col 22d Regt.

P. S. Since writing the above I am appointed Adjutant General.

LT. GOV COLDEN
New York.

To-day for the last time the Historical Society meets in this room, and the occasion seems to justify a few remarks by the

sole survivor of the original Building Committee. A full period of twenty-five years has elapsed since the last meeting was held in the former building which stood on this site; and at that time some of the older members indulged in various reminiscences, which are always a prerogative of age. It was then thought that the Society would remain here for an indefinite period,—certainly much longer than the quarter of a century that has since passed; but human judgment is often at fault, and liable to err. At the exercises on the re-opening of the Dowse Library, Mr. Winthrop alluded to the fact that the Society had been in possession of the site for just forty years, and he expressed the hope that another term of at least forty years might still be enjoyed in security; but the exigencies of the times have decreed otherwise, and the estate has now been sold.

The Dowse room, as we see it to-day, in form and dimensions is the exact counterpart of the corresponding room in the old building, though with a few slight changes in its internal arrangements. The library, here contained, is a collection of choice books of miscellaneous literature, all richly bound in calf or morocco, and comprising 4,665 volumes. No provision for its increase was made by the giver, and for this reason it is not susceptible of growth. In the building soon to be erected, it is the intention of the Committee to reproduce this room again in similar form and of the same dimensions, so that it may still continue as a lasting memorial of Mr. Dowse's generosity. It is hoped that the new building will serve as a home for the Society during a long period of years; but as human hopes are so apt to be disappointing, I shall refrain from prediction.

For some of us the tender associations which crowd this room do not come from mere lapse of time, but from the great and noble men who have sat around the table here, as they were wont to gather either by chance or for some special study. The meetings of the Society have been dignified by the presence of members eminent in all the walks of life,—in literature, statecraft, the arts and sciences, the learned professions, business affairs, and in numerous other pursuits of a scholarly community. It is needless to name them, as their memory is still fresh in our minds.

It seems but a little while ago when the Society was dis-

cussing designs for a new structure, and passing through that uncertain state which always precedes the adoption of a final plan, similar to the condition of affairs in which we find ourselves at present, and yet a quarter of a century has elapsed since that time. The four other members of the Building Committee died many years ago, and all within a period of a few weeks more than a year. It may be worthy of note that one of that Committee, Mr. Erastus B. Bigelow, gave the carpet now on this floor, which was the product of one of his own looms at Clinton, and has been in constant use since the Annual Meeting, on April 10, 1873.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, having been called on, said : —

As Dr. Green has intimated, it is not probable that the Society will hold another meeting on this spot, where it has been housed for more than sixty-three years, and therefore it may not be without interest on this occasion to recall the history of the various wanderings of our predecessors in the search for a permanent home. The first meeting of which any record remains—the meeting at which a constitution was adopted and a board of officers was elected—was held January 24, 1791, at the house of the first Treasurer, Mr. William Tudor, in Court Street, not far from this place; the second meeting was held at the house of the first President, the Hon. James Sullivan, in Cambridge Street; and the third meeting in its own library room in the Manufactory House, then owned and occupied in part by the Massachusetts Bank. This building stood in what is now Hamilton Place, nearly opposite to the Park Street Church; and here the Society appears to have remained for about a year, though in the mean time meetings were held at the house of James Winthrop, in Cambridge, at the house of Rev. Dr. Peter Thacher, in Court Street, and at the houses of Mr. Tudor and Mr. Sullivan. It then obtained the use of a room in the west end of Faneuil Hall, where it met for the first time July 31, 1792. The Society occupied this room less than two years, meetings being held occasionally at the houses of members, and in one instance at Governor's Island. The meeting for the choice of officers under the act of incorporation, passed February 19, 1794, was held in the Senate Chamber in the old State House.

A few weeks before that time, — on the last day of December, 1793, — Messrs. William Scollay, Charles Bulfinch, and Charles Vaughan, who had recently erected the Tontine Crescent, in Franklin Place, offered to the Society “a convenient room” in the centre building. This was the upper room over the arch from which Arch Street takes its name, and which will be well remembered by our older associates. The offer was gratefully accepted; and by a deed executed May 1, 1794, those gentlemen “in consideration of the sum of five shillings lawful money to us in hand paid by the Massachusetts Historical Society, but more especially for the promotion of the designs of said Society,” granted to it “the upper room or apartment in the centre building in Franklin Place, in said Boston, called the Crescent, together with the passage-way or staircase leading to the same.” The first meeting in the new building was held June 11, 1794; and here the Society had its library and held meetings for nearly forty years, until its removal to this place. After the room had been vacated by the Society it was leased for a time to the Boston Phrenological Society; and finally, in May, 1839, it was sold to the Boston Library Society for the sum of fifteen hundred dollars.

So early as 1827 it became apparent that better accommodations were needed, and at the Annual Meeting in that year Josiah Quincy, Joseph Coolidge, and James Bowdoin the younger were appointed a committee “to inquire whether a more safe and suitable room can be provided for the use of the Society, free of expense.” No immediate result followed, and at the Annual Meeting in 1829 the committee was increased in size by the addition of Benjamin R. Nichols and James Savage, and was “authorized to consider of any project for obtaining a more safe and commodious room.” In August, 1832, Isaac P. Davis was added to the Committee, and their powers and duties were further enlarged. About the same time an offer was received from the Provident Institution for Savings, which was then erecting a building for its own use on this spot, to give to the Society “a perpetual lease of the whole second story of that beautiful edifice, with additional room in the attic.” To enable the Society to take advantage of this offer, a subscription was shortly afterward opened, and the sum of five thousand dollars was subscribed in amounts varying from ten dollars to three hundred dollars.

The whole number of subscribers was sixty-four, of whom more than half were not members of the Society. The success of this subscription enabled the Committee to make a better arrangement than was at first proposed; and by an indenture dated March 6, 1833, the Provident Institution sold to the Society "the second story of the edifice lately erected by said Provident Institution in Boston, . . . together with one-half of the attic story of said building, with a privilege in the entries and stairways." If the building should be destroyed by fire or other accident, the Historical Society was to be "entitled to one undivided fourth part of the lot of land," and was to contribute one-fourth part of the cost of erecting a new building "of the same dimensions and of like materials," to be owned in the same manner. This joint ownership continued down to the removal of the Provident Institution to Temple Place, when, by a deed dated February 29, 1856, the Society became the sole owner of the property, subject, however, to a mortgage given to enable it to make the purchase, and at the same time it leased the lower story of the building to the Suffolk Savings Bank. At the termination of the lease the Savings Bank removed to a new building which it had erected on the opposite side of Tremont Street; and as the final result of protracted negotiations it was decided to take down the building which then stood here and to erect a thoroughly fireproof structure, the two lower stories of which should be specially arranged for the use of the Probate Court and the Registry of Deeds for the County of Suffolk. A lease was accordingly made to the City of Boston, for the term of fifteen years, by one provision of which it was agreed that a small piece of land between the Historical Society's building and the City building should be covered by a temporary structure, the two lower floors of which should be used by the City, and the two upper floors by the Historical Society. To effect these improvements the real estate of the Society was mortgaged for the sum of sixty thousand dollars, with interest payable semi-annually at the rate of seven per cent per annum. The whole of this mortgage was paid off by unequal instalments between March, 1877, and March, 1887; and at the Annual Meeting in April, 1894, the Treasurer was able to report that such of the permanent funds as had been temporarily invested in the new building had been reinvested.

After the termination of this lease the City continued to occupy the premises as a tenant at will until October, 1894. Subsequently the lease was revived for a term of five years, from July 1, 1896, with a right of purchase by the City at a stipulated price.

While the new building was in progress most of the books and other valuables were stored in the basement of the Boston Athenæum in Beacon Street, and the Society had rooms at No. 41 Tremont Street. Meetings were held there; in the room of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Athenæum; and at the houses of Robert C. Winthrop, in Brookline, John Amory Lowell, in Park Street, and Robert M. Mason, in Walnut Street. The Annual Meeting in 1872 was held in the room of the Academy, and the Annual Meeting in 1873 in this room, which with only slight and necessary changes is an exact reproduction of the Dowse Library in the old building. Of the ten original members only two were living when the Society met for the first time on this spot,—Rev. Dr. James Freeman and Thomas Wallcut. When the Society was ushered for the first time into the Dowse Library, in 1857, by its two senior members, Josiah Quincy and James Savage, there were on our roll the names of only two other members elected in the first thirty years after the organization of the Society, Nathan Hale and Edward Everett. To-day there are only eighteen members who were elected before the Annual Meeting of 1873, no one of whom was a member in 1857.

Apart from the Society's long occupancy of the buildings erected on this spot, the estate has had an interesting history. On it, as is well known, stood the residence of Rev. Dr. Caner, Rector of King's Chapel, who espoused the cause of the mother country in the struggle with the Colonies, and on the evacuation of Boston by the British troops in March, 1776, went to Halifax with a large part of his congregation. The estate was confiscated and sold under the Massachusetts Confiscation Acts, and by deed dated April 8, 1782, was conveyed to Samuel Henley, of Charlestown. A few weeks later he conveyed it to John Lowell, the first Judge of that name, who is represented on our present list of members by three of his descendants. In September, 1793, Mr. Lowell conveyed it to Rufus G. Amory, an eminent lawyer of that period, who had his

office in Court Street and his residence here. In November, 1805, Amory sold it to William M. S. Doyle, miniature painter, who in 1809 sold to the Proprietors of the Boston Athenæum the part of the estate on which this building stands. The Athenæum library was kept here until its removal in 1822 to the house of James Perkins in Pearl Street, near to the corner of High Street. In January, 1823, the Athenæum sold the estate to William Phillips, from whom it passed by descent to his son, Jonathan Phillips; and in 1832 it was bought by the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston, the first savings-bank established in this country. As has already been stated, the Historical Society's title to the estate was derived directly from the Provident Institution.

We shall all leave this spot with regret, but with a not less unanimous opinion on the part of members that it can no longer afford accommodations adequate to the needs of the Society. For more than a hundred years the rooms of the Society have been here, or within a few minutes' walk of this place. Our new building will stand on a most attractive site, which when our predecessors first came here was not within the territorial bounds of Boston, and which at a much later date would have seemed scarcely more promising than the Cambridgeport marshes so humorously described by Mr. Everett in his eulogy on our great benefactor, Thomas Dowse. To-day it is within easy access for our members; and it requires but a slight effort of the imagination to look forward to the time when it will be fitly described as a central situation. For its selection, as I need not say, we are mainly indebted to the judgment and foresight of our absent President.

As we go hence, bearing our sheaves with us, we shall carry nothing more valued than the associations which cluster around this room. In the quiet and still air of delightful studies, here have been formed or cemented friendships, official and personal, which no differences of opinion or policy have ever ruffled. It was a pleasure never lightly to be esteemed that, however we might differ elsewhere on any subject, we could here work for common objects with Winthrop, Ellis, and Deane, with Chandler Robbins, Richard Frothingham, and George Dexter, — too early lost from our fellowship, — to name only a few of those no longer with us who were most closely identified with the purposes of the Society in the last

thirty years. And to them might be added a long and brilliant catalogue of the departed and the living whose names will always be associated with this place, for the good work done and the cordial greetings here exchanged. Our founders would have rejoiced could they have seen in their day of small things this building and the literary and historical treasures crowded within its walls; and may we not confidently hope that our successors will look on results as large, or even larger? SIC VOS NON VOBIS, surrounding a hive of working bees, has been for more than sixty years the legend on our corporate seal, and for nearly forty years it has had a place on our walls. It was adopted only a few months after our predecessors held their first meeting on this spot; and as we gather here for the last time, the life which it symbolizes fills this room with gracious memories of those who have labored here. We may feel sure that it will be in the new century the inspiration of those who will then occupy the chairs we shall leave vacant.

The special business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and the Report of the Council was read by Mr. ARTHUR LORD, Senior Member at Large: —

Report of the Council.

During the past year the Society has held nine stated meetings and has issued to-day a volume of Collections, being the fifty-ninth in our series, entitled Volume IX., Sixth Series. It is known as "The Bowdoin and Temple Papers."

These Bowdoin and Temple manuscripts were lately discovered by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., in a chest supposed to contain only probate accounts. Many letters have been printed in the Proceedings, and the letters and other documents now printed extend over a period from July, 1756, to November, 1782, and relate mainly to public affairs.

A new volume of Proceedings has been issued, entitled Volume X., Second Series, and contains the portraits of Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., and his memoir by Octavius B. Frothingham; of Edward Bangs, with a memoir by John Lowell; of Octavius B. Frothingham, with a memoir by Josiah P. Quincy; and of Martin Brimmer, with a memoir by Samuel Eliot.

Special consideration is given in this volume to the removal of the rooms of the Society to a new site, in an exhaustive address by the President; and the volume also contains numerous communications of general interest.

The following gentlemen have become Resident Members of the Society during the year, viz.: James Madison Barker, Pittsfield, April 9, 1896; Theodore Ayrault Dodge, Brookline, May 14, 1896; Henry Lillie Pierce, Boston, November 12, 1896; Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, Worcester, January 14, 1897; and Leverett Wilson Spring, Williamstown, February 11, 1897. William Babcock Weeden, Providence, November 12, 1896; Richard Garnett, London, December 10, 1896; George Park Fisher, New Haven, January 14, 1897; Woodrow Wilson, Princeton, February 11, 1897; and Joseph Williamson, Belfast, March 11, 1897, have become Corresponding Members.

From the list of Corresponding Members to that of Honorary Members, Samuel Rawson Gardner, LL.D., and James Bryce, D.C.L., have been transferred.

Four members of the Society have died during the year. The following is a list of their names, together with the names of those appointed to prepare memoirs of them to be published in our Proceedings: Lucius Robinson Paige, memoir by Rev. Henry F. Jenks; Henry Lillie Pierce, memoir by James M. Bugbee; Francis Amasa Walker, memoir by Thornton K. Lothrop; George Otis Shattuck, memoir by Professor Charles F. Dunbar.

Of the Corresponding Members, John Meredith Read died at Paris, December 27, 1896; and Horatio Hale died at Clinton, Canada, December 28, 1896.

Of the Honorary Members Ernst Curtius died July 11, 1896.

There have been forty-six publications by members of the Society during the year, which have been presented to the Society by their several authors, and a list of the same is appended to this report.

On the 12th of November, 1896, the President of the Society, President Eliot of Harvard College, and Bishop William Lawrence were appointed a committee to take measures, in connection with the American Antiquarian Society and the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, for the bringing back to this country of the original manuscript of Governor Bradford's

History of Plymouth Colony. A Memorial was prepared by our associate Senator George F. Hoar, and was signed by committees of the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, and the New England Society of New York, with the cordial approval and indorsement of His Excellency the Governor, and was forwarded to the American ambassador at London through the Department of State, and received its approval and co-operation.

The petition was presented by Mr. Bayard, with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, to the Consistory Court of the Diocese of London; and after a full hearing the Chancellor ordered that the original be given up to Mr. Bayard, for transmission to the Governor of Massachusetts, to be disposed of according to the decree of the Court. It is gratifying to record that this interesting and valuable historical relic is soon to be returned to Massachusetts after an absence of more than a century.

It is also interesting to note that this History of Plymouth Colony was first published in full in the Collections of this Society, Volume III., of the Fourth Series, and that the story of its loss and its discovery, and of the prior efforts which have been made for its return to America, have been fully told in our Proceedings. When it is finally restored to Massachusetts, it will be appropriate for this Society to make some formal recognition of the courtesy and friendly spirit which has animated the authorities of the Diocese and alone made possible the return of the manuscript.

But it will be proper here to acknowledge the deep indebtedness which is due to Senator Hoar for his efforts in this matter. He began the negotiations with the Bishop of London, prepared the Memorial, and directed the effort which has proved successful for the return of the manuscript. To him is due the chief credit for the return of the manuscript of Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation.

On the 26th of December last, it was voted that the memorial which had been drawn up by Mr. Adams be signed and sent to Senator Hoar, and to Mr. John F. Fitzgerald, representing in the House of Representatives the District which includes Constitution Wharf, and that the Corresponding Secretary inform other societies of this action, and ask them to

co-operate in the effort to preserve the frigate "Constitution." The Memorial was signed by the members of the Council, and was presented in the Senate by Mr. Hoar, and in the House by Mr. Fitzgerald. The effort which was made to preserve the historic frigate has proved successful, and arrangements are now being made which will secure its permanent care and preservation.

Of the matters directly affecting the interests of the Society, the most important is the sale of this estate, which has been so long occupied by the Society for its collections and meetings, to the City of Boston. From the estate the sum of two hundred thousand dollars has been received, as is fully set forth in the report of the Treasurer. The Council have leased Nos. 317, 318, and 319, in the Tremont Building, for the term of two years, at the rate of twelve hundred and forty-six dollars a year. With the exception of all our own publications and such books of reference as are in frequent use at the rooms which are to be placed in the new quarters, the library and collections of the Society will be stored in the Metropolitan Storage Warehouse until the new building to be erected at the corner of Boylston Street and the Fenway is ready for occupancy.

The laborious work of removal has been nearly completed, and the Society is indebted to its Cabinet-keeper, Mr. McCleary, who has had principal charge of the removal of the valuable collections of the Society, for the care and interest which he has shown in the matter, and for the successful execution of the plan of removal which his experience suggested.

Plans for the new building have been prepared by Mr. Wheelwright, and submitted to the General Committee, consisting of the Council and three other members of the Society, and have received careful consideration. Some important changes in the proposed plans have been suggested, and it is hoped that a plan will be shortly perfected which will commend itself to the Committee and the Society, and which will provide for the erection of a suitable and dignified building which will long serve the needs and convenience of our members.

The next meeting of the Society, and future meetings until the completion of the new building, will be held in the rooms which have been leased in the Tremont Building.

ARTHUR LORD,

Senior Member at Large of the Council.

Publications by Members.

The Battle of Bunker Hill. By Charles Francis Adams. Reprinted from the American Historical Review (I. 3) for April, 1896.

The Battle of Long Island. By Charles Francis Adams. Reprinted from the American Historical Review (I. 4) for July, 1896.

Views of Unitarian Belief held by a Layman of Boston. Written for the Unitarian Club of Boston, but never read before it. By William S. Appleton.

Additions and Corrections to Sumner Genealogy to January, 1897. By William S. Appleton.

Gatherings toward a Genealogy of the Coffin Family. By William S. Appleton.

United States of America, 1765-1865. By Edward Channing.

Guide to the Study of American History. By Edward Channing and Albert B. Hart.

The Cause of Hard Times. By Uriel H. Crocker. Revised Edition.

A Bird's-Eye View of our Civil War. By Theodore A. Dodge. New and Revised Edition.

Medical Education of the Future. By Charles W. Eliot. Reprint from American Medico-Surgical Bulletin, February 1, 1896.

Oration in Honor of Colonel William Prescott, delivered in Boston, 14 October, 1895, by Invitation of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. By William Everett.

Magistro "fallentis semitæ Vitæ" S. P. D. discipulus. [Written in commemoration of the fiftieth graduation anniversary of Prof. George M. Lane.] By William Everett.

Studies in the Text of Lucretius. [A paper offered in commemoration of Professor Lane's anniversary.] By William Everett.

The American Revolution. Illustrated Edition. By John Fiske.

Groton Historical Series; Numbers I. to IV. of Volume IV. By Samuel A. Green.

Early Church Records of Groton, Massachusetts, 1761-1830. Containing a List of Admissions to the Church, with Lists of Marriages and Baptisms; and various other memoranda. With Notes and an Introduction. By Samuel A. Green.

In Memory of Sarah King Hale, the First Vice-Regent for New Hampshire of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union. By George S. Hale.

A Study of Fears. By G. Stanley Hall. Reprinted from the American Journal of Psychology, Vol. VIII. No. 2.

Genealogies. The Hassam Family. The Hilton Family. The Cheever Family. By John T. Hassam.

Book and Heart, Essays on Literature and Life. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

Massachusetts in the Army and Navy during the War of 1861-65. Prepared by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, State Military and Naval Historian. Vol. I.

The Charge against President Grant and Attorney-General Hoar of packing the Supreme Court of the United States, to secure the reversal of the Legal Tender Decisions, by the appointment of Judges Bradley and Strong, Refuted. Letter to the Boston Herald. By George F. Hoar.

Anniversary Sermon preached in Grace Church Chapel [Lawrence] by the Rector, Rev. A. H. Amory, October 11, 1896. Sermon preached in Grace Church, at the Dedication of the New Chancel, October 18, 1896, by the Right Rev. William Lawrence, second Rector of the Parish, and Bishop of Massachusetts.

William Henry Seward. By Thornton K. Lothrop. [American Statesman Series, edited by John T. Morse, Jr.]

Governments and Parties in Continental Europe. By A. Lawrence Lowell. 2 vols.

1775 — April Nineteenth — 1896. An Address Commemorative of the Life and Services of George D. Robinson, Governor of the Commonwealth, 1884-86, by Henry Cabot Lodge. Proceedings at the Hancock Church in Lexington on the One Hundred and Twenty-first Anniversary of the Battle.

In Commemoration of the Life and Public Services of Frederic T. Greenhalge, late Governor of the Commonwealth. [Eulogy by Henry Cabot Lodge.] Printed by order of the General Court.

Remarks of Rev. Alexander McKenzie, at the Funeral of Hon. Charles Theodore Russell, Shepard Memorial Church, January 19, 1896.

Remarks of Rev. Alexander McKenzie, at the Funeral of Hon. William Eustis Russell, Shepard Memorial Church, Cambridge, July 20, 1896.

The Chief End of Man. By George S. Merriam.

Reminiscences and Letters of Caroline C. Briggs. Edited by George S. Merriam.

Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes. By John T. Morse, Jr. 2 vols.

Origins of Williamstown. By Arthur L. Perry. Second Edition.

Henry Oscar Houghton. A Biographical Outline. By Horace E. Scudder.

Diocese of Massachusetts. The Enlargement of its Diocesan Library. Being the Thirteenth Annual Report made to the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, held in

Trinity Church, Boston, May 6 and 7, 1896. By the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter.

Enfranchisement and Citizenship. Addresses and Papers by Edward L. Pierce. Edited by A. W. Stevens.

Major John Lillie. 1755-1801. The Lillie Family of Boston. 1663-1896. By Edward Lillie Pierce.

The Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. Thirtieth Report by Frederick W. Putnam.

Symbolism in Ancient American Art. By F. W. Putnam and C. C. Willoughby.

Hymns and Sonnets by Eliza Scudder. With an Introduction by Horace E. Scudder.

Rev. Samuel Ripley of Waltham. Privately printed. By James B. Thayer.

International Bimetallism. By Francis A. Walker.

The Inaugural Addresses of the Mayors of Boston. Volume II. from 1852 to 1867. Published by the City Registrar [William H. Whitmore].

A Report [27th] of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, containing the Selectmen's Minutes from 1787 through 1798. By William H. Whitmore, City Registrar.

Nineteenth Report (1896) of Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University.

Cabot and the Transmission of English Power in North America. An Address delivered before the New York Historical Society on its Ninety-second Anniversary, Wednesday, November 18, 1896, by Justin Winsor.

The report of the Treasurer and the report of the Auditing Committee were presented in print, and are here given : —

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1897.

The special funds held by him are fifteen in number, and are as follows : —

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold

for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. The declaration contains also the following clause: "And when hereafter the accumulations of said fund — by its investments of income; by additions made to it; by gifts, bequests, or otherwise — shall amount to a sufficient sum, in aid of other means, to purchase or secure a suitable site for the library and halls of said Historical Society, or to enable said Society to appropriate and improve the whole of their present premises, — then, and in either of the cases, the said Trustees may, under a recorded vote of authority of the Society, draw out and receive the whole, or any part, of said accumulations of said fund, to be expended by them in the above-named purposes. . . . Provided always, that in no case whatever shall the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished."

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000. It should be added that the books for the safe keeping of which this provision was made were given to the Society in 1856, "upon the single condition that they shall be preserved together for ever in a separate room, and shall only be used in said room." The room itself was fitted up "at the sole expense of Mr. Dowse's estate, and by the express authority of his executors."

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. **THE SAVAGE FUND**, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1878, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. **THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND**, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest was added to the principal to bring the amount up to \$2,000, at which it now stands. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. **THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND**, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. **THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND**, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

IX. **THE GENERAL FUND**, which now amounts to \$10,468.56. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from the late GEORGE DEXTER, Recording Secretary from 1878 to 1883, received in June, 1884. This bequest for several years stood on the Treasurer's books at \$900, at which sum the shares were valued when the incomes arising from separate investments were all merged in one consolidated account. Besides the regular quarterly dividends there has been received up to the present time from the sale of subscription rights, etc., the sum of \$268.56, which has been added to the nominal amount of Mr. Dexter's bequest.

7. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR, received in February, 1895.

8. Fourteen commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of \$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal; and it is the wish of the giver that the same policy should be continued. The fund now stands at \$2,036.17.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late William Amory, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The income has been allowed to accumulate, with the view to the publication of a volume of Collections.

XII. THE LAWRENCE FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the younger Abbott Lawrence, received in June, 1894. The income is "to be expended in publishing the Collections and Proceedings" of the Society.

XIII. THE ROBERT C. WINTHROP FUND, which was a gift of \$5,000, under the will of our late associate, received in December, 1894. No restrictions were attached to this bequest; but by a vote of the Society passed Dec. 13, 1894, it

was directed that the income "shall be expended for such purposes as the Council may from time to time direct."

XIV. THE WATERSTON PUBLISHING FUND, which was a gift of \$10,000, under the will of our late associate, the Rev. Robert C. Waterston, received in December, 1894. The income is to be used as a publishing fund, in accordance with the provisions of Mr. Waterston's will printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. viii. pp. 172, 173).

XV. THE ELLIS FUND, which originated in a bequest to the Society of \$30,000, by our late President, Dr. George E. Ellis. This sum was paid into the Treasury Dec. 20, 1895; and to it was added the sum of \$574.71 received from the sale of various articles of personal property, also given to the Society by Dr. Ellis, which it was not thought desirable to keep, making the whole amount of the fund \$30,574.71. No part of the original sum can be used for the purchase of other real estate in exchange for the real estate specifically devised by Dr. Ellis's will.

Besides the bequest in money, Dr. Ellis by his will gave to the Society the dwelling-house No. 110 Marlborough Street, with substantially all its contents. In the exercise of the discretion which the Society was authorized to use, this house was sold for the sum of \$25,000, and the proceeds invested in the more eligible estate on the corner of the Fenway and Boylston Street. The full sum received from the sale was entered on the Treasurer's books, to the credit of ELLIS HOUSE, in perpetual memory of Dr. Ellis's gift.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

It should not be forgotten that beside the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291-296); and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates,

living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

During the year the protracted negotiations for the sale to the City of Boston of the estate on Tremont Street owned and occupied by the Society have been completed. In accordance with the terms and conditions as finally settled, the estate was mortgaged, with the approval of the Mayor, to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company for the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, with interest at the rate of four per cent per annum payable semi-annually, reserving to the mortgagor and its assigns the right to pay off twenty-five thousand dollars on any and every interest day; and that sum (\$150,000) was received in cash from the Life Insurance Company. Simultaneously with the execution of the mortgage, and subject to it, the estate was conveyed to the City on receipt of the further sum of fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) also in cash. Of the aggregate sum thus received, the sum of thirty thousand dollars was applied to the payment of the mortgage on the Fenway estate, which is now free from incumbrance; the sum of ten thousand dollars was reserved in the treasury; and the remaining sum was lent to the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company on notes maturing at various dates and for various amounts, so arranged as that such portion of this sum as the Society shall set apart for the erection of a new building will be available when wanted during the progress of the building.

The stock and bonds held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Iron-ton Railroad Co.; \$3,500 in the new four per cent mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., \$2,000 in the adjustment four per cent bonds, and thirty-three shares of the preferred stock of the same corporation, received in exchange for the bonds of

said corporation heretofore held by the Treasurer; \$11,000 in the five per cent collateral trust bonds of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co.; \$30,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Metropolitan Street Railway Co. of Kansas City; \$6,000 in the four and one half per cent bonds of the Boston and Maine Railroad Co.; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston; fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the Columbian National Bank of Boston; forty-two shares in the Second National Bank of Boston; thirty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.; twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co.; four shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000); five shares in the State Street Exchange; and two shares in the Pacific Mills (of the par value of \$1,000).

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

		DEBITS.
1896.		
March 31.	To balance on hand	\$1,442.91
1897.		
March 31.	„ receipts as follows:—	
	General Account	7,581.45
	Consolidated Income	6,187.26
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	74.90
	Sale of Tremont Street Estate	200,000.00
	General Fund	600.00
	Investments	219.63
		<u>\$216,106.15</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$9,653.52
		CREDITS.
1897.		
March 31.	By payments as follows:—	
	Investments	\$4,215.88
	Income of Ellis Fund	144.35
	Income of Savage Fund	179.85
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	129.60
	Income of Appleton Fund	74.25
	Income of Mass. Historical Trust Fund	923.46
	Carried forward	<u>\$5,670.39</u>

	<i>Brought forward</i>	\$5,670.39
Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund		142.62
Income of Peabody Fund		538.03
Real Estate		1,749.09
Notes Payable		30,000.00
Notes Receivable		160,000.00
General Account		8,352.50
By balance on hand		9,653.52
		<u>\$216,106.15</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1896.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$4,029.55
1897.			
March 31.	„ sundry charges and payments :—		
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,940.00	
	Printing and binding	749.04	
	Stationery and postage	89.19	
	Fuel and light	163.25	
	Care of fire, etc.	372.01	
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	218.76	
	Editing publications of the Society	2,000.00	
	Interest and tax on mortgage paid off	1,820.25	
			<u>\$12,382.05</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down		\$4,311.86

1897.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By sundry receipts :—		
	Rent of Building	\$4,500.00	
	Interest	1,259.27	
	Income of Dowse Fund	488.74	
	Return premium on insurance	75.47	
	Admission Fees	175.00	
	Assessments	700.00	
	Sales of publications	871.71	
	„ balance carried forward	4,311.86	
			<u>\$12,382.05</u>

Income of Dowse Fund.

1897.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account		\$488.74
1897.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income		<u>\$488.74</u>

Income of Appleton Fund.

1897.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding and printing	\$74.25
	„ balance carried forward	1,615.21
		<u>\$1,689.46</u>
1896.	CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,098.04
1897.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	596.42
		<u>\$1,689.46</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	<u>\$1,615.21</u>

Income of Ellis Fund.

1896.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$771.82
1897.		
March 31.	“ amount paid for storage, etc.	144.35
	“ balance carried forward	578.16
		<u>\$1,494.33</u>
1897.	CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	<u>\$1,494.33</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	<u>\$578.16</u>

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

1897.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	\$129.60
	„ balance carried forward	176.30
		<u>\$305.90</u>
1896.	CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$159.28
1897.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	146.62
		<u>\$305.90</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	<u>\$176.30</u>

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

1897.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	By amount paid for binding		\$9.00
	" " " " printing		917.46
	" balance carried forward		1,286.60
			<u>\$2,213.06</u>
1896.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward		\$1,724.82
1897.			
March 31.	" proportion of consolidated income		488.74
			<u>\$2,213.06</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down		\$1,286.60

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

1896.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward		\$279.27
1897.			
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$57.75
1897.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By copyright received		\$74.90
	" proportion of consolidated income		146.62
	" balance carried forward		57.75
			<u>\$279.27</u>

Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund.

1897.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for books		\$142.62
	" balance carried forward		128.93
			<u>\$271.55</u>
1896.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward		\$173.80
1897.			
March 31.	" proportion of consolidated income		97.75
			<u>\$271.55</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down		\$128.93



Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.	
1896.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward \$53.51
1897.	
March 31.	„ amount paid for printing and binding 538.08
	„ balance carried forward 489.71
	<u>\$1,081.25</u>

CREDITS.	
1897.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income \$1,081.25
March 31.	By balance brought down \$489.71

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.	
1896.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward \$76.75
1897.	
March 31.	„ amount paid for books 179.85
	„ balance carried forward 36.64
	<u>\$298.24</u>

CREDITS.	
1897.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income \$298.24
March 31.	By balance brought down \$36.64

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.	
Cash	\$9,653.52
Notes Receivable	160,000.00
Investments	135,410.70
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	57.75
Coupon Scrip	625.00
General Account	4,811.86
	<u>\$310,058.83</u>

CREDITS.

Real Estate	\$41,470.72
Building Account	108,280.19
Ellis House	25,000.00
Appleton Fund	12,208.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,128.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	2,000.00
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	10,468.56
Anonymous Fund	2,086.17
William Amory Fund	3,000.00
Lawrence Fund	3,000.00
Robert C. Winthrop Fund	5,000.00
Waterston Publishing Fund	10,000.00
Ellis Fund	30,574.71
Income of Peabody Fund	489.71
Income of Savage Fund	86.64
Income of General Fund	482.82
Income of Appleton Fund	1,615.21
Income of William Winthrop Fund	176.30
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,286.60
Income of William Amory Fund	1,240.72
Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	128.93
Income of Lawrence Fund	385.63
Income of Robert C. Winthrop Fund	494.09
Income of Waterston Publishing Fund	988.17
Income of Ellis Fund	578.16
	<u>\$310,058.88</u>

The revival of the lease to the City of Boston, in July, 1896, of the rooms formerly occupied by the Registry of Deeds and the Probate Court, relieved the Society from the embarrassments occasioned by the loss of the larger part of its income on the expiration of the lease in October, 1894; and until building operations shall be resumed on the Fenway estate, the income from the net proceeds of the sale of the Tremont Street estate will be available for the general purposes of the Society.

The income from the invested funds during the year was about 4.88 per cent, an increase of about one quarter of one per cent over the rate of the preceding year.

During the year the Society has published a volume of the Proceedings, — 2d series, vol. x.; and a volume of Collections — 6th series, vol. ix. — will be ready at the Annual Meeting.

The cost of the first of these two volumes was charged to the General Account, and the cost of the volume of Collections to the Income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund. The cost of the new volume of Proceedings will be charged to the Income of the Peabody Fund; and the Income of either the Appleton Fund or of the William Amory Fund will be sufficient to cover the cost of a volume of Collections.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer*.

Boston, March 31, 1897.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1897, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, }
T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 5, 1897.

The report of the Librarian was as follows:—

Report of the Librarian.

During the past year there have been added to the Library:

Books	1,196
Pamphlets	2,481
Volumes of newspapers	21
Unbound volumes of newspapers	21
Broadsides	90
Maps	39
Portfolios of maps	2
Volume of maps	1
Manuscripts	22
Volumes of manuscripts	88
Unbound volumes of manuscripts	3
Pamphlets with manuscript notes	22

In all . . . 3,986

Of the books added, 997 have been given, 39 bought, and 160 bound. Of the pamphlets added, 2,459 have been given, 16 bought, and 6 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund there have been bought 39 volumes, 16 pamphlets, and 2 unbound volumes of newspapers; and 17 volumes, containing 73 pamphlets, have been bound.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 160 volumes, containing 268 pamphlets, have been bound, and 13 volumes repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 43 have been given, and 6 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 83 have been given and 2 bought. There are now in the collection 2,367 volumes, 4,848 pamphlets, 809 broadsides, and 105 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 899 volumes, 192 unbound volumes, 97 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 7,493 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time more than 40,000 volumes, including files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 99,043; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,952.

During the past year there have been taken out 60 books and 20 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

The largest accession has come from Mrs. John Langdon Sibley, of Groton, of which the details are given on pages 67 and 68 of this volume. At the January meeting a report was made on the final disposition of a large mass of miscellaneous manuscripts known as the Otis Papers; and that communication forms properly a part of this Report (see pages 221-226). Under a vote of the Council on January 14 a collection of papers belonging to the estate of the late Rev. William Henry Channing was returned to a representative of the family. They comprise four volumes of manuscripts and 546 separate papers, and were received on January 13, 1896, through a mistake. It is proper that a record of the fact should be made here, as they were counted among the accessions of the last Annual Report.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge the generosity of our associate, Mr. Winthrop, who has paid the expense of binding

twenty volumes of the Boston Daily Advertiser, for the years 1845-55.

Respectfully submitted,

Boston, April 8, 1897.

SAMUEL A. GREEN,
Librarian.

The report of the Cabinet-keeper was then read : —

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper respectfully reports that during the last year the accessions to the Cabinet have not been numerous, but some of them have a rare historic value. The gifts, with the names of the several donors, are comprised in the following list : —

Combined desk and book-rack owned and used by Rufus Choate, at his office in Boston. Given by H. Chapin.

A miniature daguerreotype of John Howard Payne and a lock of his hair. Given by Miss Palfrey.

A Massachusetts bill of 3s. 6d., 1782; a Rhode Island bill of 30s., March 18, 1776; and two currency notes, Philadelphia Loan Company, May 22, 1837, for 10 cents, and Corporation of Little Rock, Arkansas, October 10, 1841, for 25 cents. Given by Kilby Page.

A framed view of Boston in 1848 by E. Whitefield. Given by Mrs. Nathaniel J. Bradlee.

Three photographs, of Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, Simeon Stoddard, and Mrs. Simeon Stoddard. Given by J. E. Purdy & Co.

A woodcut of Benjamin Lincoln, made by M. Lamont Brown for John Fiske's American Revolution. Given by Mr. Brown.

A cut showing the American Confectionery Store at 49 Hanover Street, corner of Capen Place, used by Harvey Tileston on paper for wrapping purposes. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A ten-cent scrip of the Argentine Republic, printed in London. Given by Charles C. Smith.

A photograph of a crayon portrait of Peter Isaac Vosburgh, of Columbia County, New York, Colonel on Washington's Staff, 1776, General in the War of 1812. Given by Miss Alice Van Alen Mesick.

A piece of a rail cut by Abraham Lincoln. Given by Mrs. Caroline H. Dall.

A plaster bust of George Ticknor. Given by the Family of Mr. Ticknor.

A photograph of Quincy Adams Gilmore, by F. C. Lay, Boston, and a heliotype of Louis Agassiz, after a photograph by A. Sonrel. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A silhouette of the wife of General Henry Knox, as she appeared in Philadelphia during the Administration of Washington; drawn by a son of Robert Morris. Given by Charles Henry Hart.

A cane bearing the following inscription: "Isaac Hull to John Quincy Adams. Live Oak from U. S. Frigate Constitution, 1836." Given by Charles Francis Adams.

A Jackson badge, in satin, and a Lincoln and Hamlin token, 1860. Given by Miss Mary H. Ladd.

A silver piece, made by the Gorham Manufacturing Company, silversmiths, which contains "823 grains coin silver in value the equivalent of one Gold dollar Sept 16th 1896." Also Confederate State money, \$5; \$10, series B and H; \$20 and \$50, February 17, 1864; North Carolina Money, 10 cents, January 1, 1863; 25 cents, September 1, 1862; 50 cents, September 1, 1862; \$1, January 1, 1863, and October 18, 1861; \$2, October 6, 1861, and January 1, 1863, and eight French assignats. Given by George S. Hale.

South Carolina money, \$90, 1779; Bank of the United States, Portsmouth, October 3, 1821, certificate of deferred stock to Mary L. Buckminster of Boston; Confederate States, non-taxable certificate, \$500, 6 per cent; blank certificate at 4 per cent; two non-taxable certificates of \$1000 at 6 per cent; bonds, \$500, 4's, 1868; 6's, 1868; 7's, 1868, two issues; and \$1000, 6's, 1883. Given by Thornton K. Lothrop.

A framed engraving of Melanchthon. Given by Samuel E. Herrick.

A bronze medal, bearing the profile of Edward Everett, made for the Pennsylvania Institute, and one of the first struck for the engraver, Anthony C. Paquet. Given by Charles Henry Hart.

A collection of miscellaneous engravings. Given by Mrs. John Langdon Sibley.

Since the last meeting of the Society the entire Cabinet has been moved to the new Metropolitan Storage Warehouse in Cambridgeport. In the course of its removal many interesting articles, which were hidden away from sight, were brought to light; and it is hoped that these, with other treasures, will be displayed for the inspection of the public in the new Historic building. The Cabinet-keeper hopes that the co-operation of the members of this body will be enlisted in such a location of the Cabinet rooms in the new building as will permit the valuable contents of this department to be carefully arranged for the inspection and information of the general public.

SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY,
Cabinet-keeper.

April 8, 1897.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD, for the Nominating Committee, presented the following list for officers for the ensuing year; and a ballot having been taken, the several candidates were duly elected to the offices for which they had been named:—

For President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

For Vice-Presidents.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

For Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

For Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

For Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Cabinet-keeper.

SAMUEL FOSTER McCLEARY.

For Members at Large of the Council.

THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL.

CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.

WILLIAM WALLACE CRAPO.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

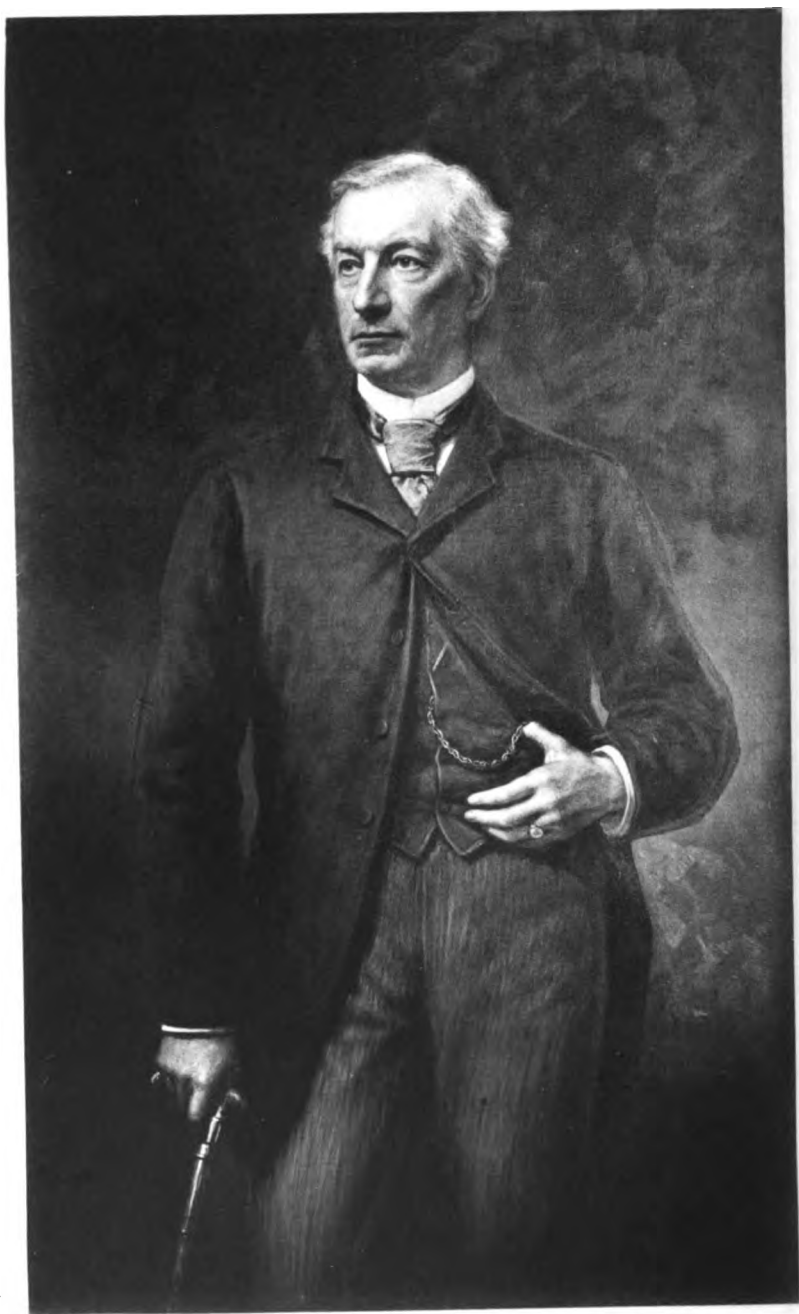
Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH spoke of the valuable services which had been rendered by the two retiring members of the Council, — Messrs. Arthur Lord and Edward L. Pierce, — and said that it was no merely formal vote which he wished to offer. Both gentlemen had been assiduous in attention to their duties; and the Society had profited greatly by their sound judgment and legal knowledge in dealing with the difficult and delicate questions which had arisen during the last two years. It was then unanimously

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Messrs. Arthur Lord and Edward L. Pierce, retiring members of the Council, for their important and efficient services.

The FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT suggested that the number of members from the Society at large on the Joint Committee to which had been referred all matters relating to the new building be increased to four, with a view to the appointment of Mr. Lord, lately Senior Member at Large of the Council, as the fourth member. On motion of Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, a vote to this effect was unanimously adopted; and thereupon Mr. Lord was appointed as an additional member of the Joint Committee.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. JOHN C. ROPES, HENRY W. HAYNES, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR., SAMUEL A. GREEN, WILLIAM EVERETT, ABNER C. GOODELL, JR., JUSTIN WINSOR, and Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER.

After the adjournment the members lunched together in the room over the Dowse Library, by invitation of Mr. THORNTON K. LOTHROP, the Senior Member at Large of the Council.



Everett Ruess



John Lubbock

MEMOIR
OF
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

BY CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL, of Ledsham Hall and Huntwick, England, Knight, was the first of the name of Saltonstall who came to New England; and from him all who now bear that name in the United States are believed to be descended. Sir Richard was a member of the company, incorporated March 4, 1629, as the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." A year before the incorporation of this company, John Endicott had established himself at Naumkeag, now Salem, under a grant of lands obtained by himself, Sir Henry Rosewell, and others, from the Council for New England. The chartered company succeeded to this grant; and in April, 1629, it sent reinforcements to Endicott's colony under Skelton, Higginson, and Bright. Notwithstanding this the colony languished, partly on account of religious dissensions, and partly no doubt from the feeling that it lacked the elements of permanency. Cradock the Governor never left England, and Endicott almost alone of the Assistants was on the spot.

But on the 26th of August, 1629, an event happened which changed the condition of affairs, and insured a stronger and more abiding effort to establish civil and religious liberty in New England. Twelve gentlemen met in Cambridge, England, and pledged themselves to embark to New England with their families for a permanent residence. One of these was Sir Richard Saltonstall, and John Winthrop and Dudley were among the others. As a result of this meeting the old officers of the chartered company resigned. Winthrop was made Governor, and Humphrey Deputy Governor; Sir Richard Salton-

stall becoming First Assistant. He embarked with his family in the "Arbella," and arrived in Salem with Winthrop and the other officers of the company. From Salem, Winthrop and the Assistants proceeded first to Charlestown; and soon afterwards they founded Boston. Sir Richard Saltonstall, however, shortly after his landing, separated from the other colonists at Charlestown, and, accompanied by his friend George Phillips, settled himself upon the banks of the Charles River, and founded Watertown; and George Phillips, also an ancestor of the subject of this memoir, became the minister of the First Parish in that town. Sir Richard afterwards returned to England, leaving his two sons with their families in Massachusetts. Richard Saltonstall, the son of Sir Richard, settled in Ipswich. He was an Assistant under the first Charter, and deputy to the General Court. His son Nathaniel, distinguished in his day as a militia officer and a judge, was also an Assistant. Richard, the son of Nathaniel, was a representative in the General Court from Haverhill. Richard, his son, a military officer, representative for Haverhill, and a judge of the Superior Court, married Mary Cooke, great-granddaughter of Governor Leverett; thus connecting that name with the family of Saltonstall. Their son Nathaniel was a distinguished physician in Haverhill; and his son was Leverett Saltonstall, the father of the subject of this memoir.

The ancestors of our associate have been men of note in their day, and any man might well feel pride and satisfaction at being so descended; but, as this is a memoir, not of his ancestors, but of Leverett Saltonstall himself, who by his own achievements and good qualities has not only shown himself worthy of those whose name he bore, but has left to his descendants the recollection of a lofty character and an honorable career, it is not necessary to give a fuller account of them. There are, however, one or two peculiar characteristics of the ancestors of Leverett Saltonstall which may be referred to, as they were very distinctly reproduced in their descendant. The civic courage openly to resist a public opinion which they believed to be unjust, and a liberal spirit of religious toleration were apparently natural to those who bore the Saltonstall name. Sir Richard Saltonstall protested strongly against the spirit of persecution, from which many of his associates were not free, when he wrote from England to



Cotton and Wilson, preachers of the church at Boston, a letter from which we may quote some extracts:—

“It doth not a little grieve my spirit to heare what sadd things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. . . . Truly, friends, this your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to doe that whereof they are not fully persuaded is to make them sin, for soe the apostle (Rom. 14 and 23) tells us and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for feare of punishment. We pray for you, and wish you prosperitie in every way, hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there that you might have been eyes to God’s people here, and not to practise those courses in a wilderness which you went so farre to prevent. These rigid wayes have layed you very low in the hearts of the saynts. . . . I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibilitie of judgment, when the most learned of the apostles confesseth he knew but in parte and saw but darkely as through a glass.”

Richard Saltonstall, the son of Sir Richard, was the determined and ultimately successful opponent of the project to elect a certain number of magistrates “for term of their lives” as a Standing Council. Such a Council seems to have been elected and to have remained in existence for three years, to May, 1639. Richard Saltonstall wrote a book cogently arguing that such a life council was a sinful innovation. In the position that he took he placed himself in pointed and direct conflict with the wishes of the Court of Assistants of which he was a member.

In the next generation Nathaniel Saltonstall, son of Richard, took a stand which must have required courage of a high order. As a judge of the County Court, he braved the cruel public opinion of the day by refusing to sit in the witchcraft trials.

This independence of thought and action of the Saltonstalls sometimes brought them into opposition to each other.

Nathaniel Saltonstall, the grandfather of Leverett Saltonstall and the beloved physician of Haverhill, was on the patriot side in the Revolution; but his elder half-brother, Richard, an excellent officer who had seen service in the French war, was a steady and outspoken loyalist. Although in opinion he supported the English government in the contest with the

colonies, Richard Saltonstall refused a command in the British service against his native country, and retired to England, where he died.

Leverett Saltonstall was born in Salem, March 16, 1825. His father, Leverett Saltonstall, was one of the most distinguished lawyers in Massachusetts, and this at a period when Daniel Webster, Dane, Parsons, and Story were in full practice at the bar. The elder Leverett Saltonstall held many offices, political, literary, and academical; was often in the Legislature, and at one time President of the Senate. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, the first mayor of Salem, and a representative in Congress for two terms, from 1838 to 1843. He received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard College, and was a member of its Board of Overseers. He was president of the Bible Society and of the Essex Bar, and a member of several literary societies, — among others, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A notice of his life by his brother-in-law the Hon. James C. Merrill is to be found in the records of the Society.¹ He was a man of eloquence, ability, character, and piety; and his son always greatly revered his memory, and was no doubt much influenced in his action in all important affairs by what he believed would have been his father's opinion or judgment. His mother, Mary Elizabeth Sanders, was the daughter of Thomas Sanders, a successful merchant, whose progenitors had for five generations inhabited Gloucester and Salem, and whose son Charles was the generous benefactor of Harvard College.

Leverett Saltonstall was the youngest of five children, and the only son who grew to manhood; his brother having died in infancy. He was fitted for college at the Salem Latin School under Master Oliver Carlton, and entered Harvard College in 1840, graduating with distinction in 1844, and being the sixth of the name of Saltonstall who had graduated from the college in lineal succession. After graduating he went to Fayal with his classmate Charles W. Dabney, and remained there six months; going afterward to England, and then returning home on account of the illness of his father. He arrived too late to see his father, who died in the spring of 1845.

In September, 1845, he entered the Law School, remained

¹ See Collections, 3d series, vol. ix. pp. 117-119.

there two years, and took his degree of LL.B. In August, 1847, he again went to Europe and was abroad until the autumn of 1849. He then entered the office of Sohier and Welch in Boston, and completed his legal studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1850, and for twelve years practised his profession in Boston. He was married on the 19th of October, 1854, to Rose, daughter of John Clarke Lee, of Salem, one of the founders of the banking-house of Lee, Higginson, & Co. Mrs. Saltonstall and four children survive him.

He held many distinguished positions during his life. He was for eighteen years an Overseer of Harvard College, and was a trustee of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, and of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded. He was also a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and of the State Board of Agriculture, and was for two years President of the Unitarian Club. At the time of his death he was President of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture, one of the oldest societies in the State, founded in 1792.

It is, however, as one of the leading public men of Massachusetts that Leverett Saltonstall is best known. Although not holding office until late in life, he was for more than thirty years a conspicuous figure in the politics of the Commonwealth, and was acknowledged to be so both in the State and in the country at large. Never, since his political activity began, having been in affiliation with the dominant party in the State, he yet commanded the respect of his fellow-citizens for the ability, sincerity, and courage with which he maintained his opinions. Conservative by tradition and temperament, he was always disposed to move slowly in the direction of what seemed to many of his fellow-citizens necessary and inevitable progress. He was warm in his partisanship, but his partisanship never led him into personalities; and he could and did oppose his friends upon questions of vital consequence, that aroused political passion, without forfeiting their respect or their affection.

It was about the time of the Presidential election in 1860 that he first became prominent in public affairs.

This election marks the beginning of that great revolutionary struggle in the history of the Republic, which was the consequence of the existence of slavery in some of the States.

This "irrepressible conflict" had been foreseen and foretold by many thoughtful observers and students of American politics; but the people at large were slow to believe it possible. A crisis came when, in 1860, the Northern States elected Abraham Lincoln President, without a single electoral vote being given him by any slaveholding State.

Saltonstall stood in that conflict in the position of those who deplored the resort to any means not in accordance with the compromises of the Constitution of the United States, to confine slavery to its existing limits. He feared, as others feared, that passions were being roused that would bring civil war upon his country; and to him that seemed a catastrophe to be prevented by any honorable means. He held back, therefore, from measures that he thought extreme; and, though never apologizing for slavery, he felt that whatever protection the compact of the Constitution gave to it ought to be religiously and faithfully extended by the general government. The Republican party in 1860 seemed to him to be a sectional organization, disposed and pledged to abolish slavery regardless of the restraints of the Constitution. He therefore stood as a candidate for Congress in 1860 against Charles Francis Adams, the Republican candidate; and was probably the most ardent leader in Massachusetts of the party that claimed to stand for moderation and conservatism, and which gave its support to John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, as candidates for President and Vice-President.

The progress of events, however, was rapid and startling; and when the civil war came, it came unexpectedly, even to many of those who were not so conservative as was Saltonstall. Like all other patriotic citizens of Massachusetts, when the flag of the United States was lowered at Fort Sumter by the power of armed rebellion, he stood at once on the side of the government. His name appears upon the list of persons engaged in raising a regiment for the war to be commanded by Fletcher Webster, the only surviving son of Daniel Webster. He readily fell in with the generous and patriotic spirit which, at the outbreak of hostilities, inclined the people of the State to disregard party lines and to unite in the election of civil officers. When Mr. Adams resigned his seat in Congress to accept the position of minister to Great Britain, a People's Convention was called to nominate his successor and was

attended by men of all parties. Saltonstall was a member; and it was upon his motion that Judge Benjamin F. Thomas was nominated to take Mr. Adams's place in the House of Representatives. The Republicans made no nomination against Judge Thomas, who was almost unanimously elected; the slight opposition that was made coming from a few Democrats who, unlike Saltonstall, insisted upon nominating a party candidate.

It was not possible, however, that this unanimity of feeling in regard to elections should continue. It was inevitable that differences of opinion should arise among loyal citizens as to the political methods that should be adopted in carrying on the war. Many men believed that, as slavery had caused the war, aggressive political action should be taken against that institution. Others thought that no assault should be made upon slavery, but that it was still entitled to such recognition and protection as the Constitution gave it. It was natural that Saltonstall should be one of these. In his view of constitutional duty and obligation, the people of the loyal States were still bound by the compromises of the Constitution; and to disregard them appeared to him to endanger the unity of the loyal masses. Whether the fact is to be deplored or not, it was found that loyal men could not agree upon this subject; and party divisions were the necessary consequence of the disagreement. The ill-success of the Union forces in the first two years of the war naturally aroused a disposition to criticise and to blame the administration of President Lincoln, and, as an opinion gained ground that the Administration interfered unnecessarily and injudiciously with military operations, the party in opposition attracted to its ranks many loyal men who held that opinion. While however there were some flagrant and pronounced exceptions, the greater number of the Northern Democratic leaders remained faithful to the Union cause. Saltonstall was one of these; and, however much some of his warmest personal friends might lament his attitude of opposition to an Administration which, in their opinion, was entitled to and was worthy of support, no one of them ever doubted his honesty of purpose and his absolute loyalty.

During the war Saltonstall seems to have abstained from making political addresses, though he never concealed his

opinions and was a candidate on the Democratic electoral ticket in 1864. It is easy to understand now that his position was painful and difficult. To be heartily anxious and eager for the success of the Union forces, and yet honestly to entertain the opinion that such a success was jeopardized by the military and political action of the Administration, was a condition of mind that would naturally dispose him to silence. To appear constantly and openly as an assailant of the men who were carrying on the government might well have seemed ungracious, and would have exposed him to the unreasonable charge of disloyalty to the cause. In those days the tide of political passion ran high; and differences of opinion upon public affairs often alienated friends and divided families, even in those States that were nearly unanimous in their unwavering loyalty to the Union. The manner in which the war was carried on and the objects for which it ought to be prosecuted, the fitness of military leaders, the relation of the colored race to the contest,—all these grave matters were in men's minds and upon their tongues, when they met in the ordinary intercourse of the street, or in the social gatherings of private life; and these questions, in themselves of serious importance, became painfully exciting in a community whose sons and brothers were daily giving their lives to the country. Under such a stress of feeling it is not surprising that it often happened that friendly relations could only be maintained between those who disagreed by an enforced silence upon the single subject that was at the time of absorbing interest. It speaks well for the qualities of mind and heart of Saltonstall that, warm as was his temperament and outspoken as he was in conversation upon political topics, he lost none of his friends, however much he might differ from them.

The war ended in April, 1865, with the surrender of the Southern armies. The terrible tragedy of the assassination of President Lincoln, which in the hour of the national triumph saddened all lovers of their country, was by none more deplored than by his conscientious political opponents. At the April meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Saltonstall was one of the speakers in support of resolutions presented by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, which did full justice to the magnanimity and to the patriotism of the great President. His remarks have not been preserved, and nearly

every member of the Society who was present at the meeting has passed away. There is no one left of whom inquiry can be made, but no one who knew him can doubt that Saltonstall was on such an occasion both generous and eloquent.

The victory of the national government over the armed forces of the Rebellion was decisive. No violent attempt against its supremacy has since been made, nor has any desire to take up arms to renew the old struggle been manifested by any portion of the Southern people. But the constitutional questions, developed by the war and its results, could not be settled at once; and it would have been strange indeed if there had not been strong differences of opinion as to the theory and methods of reconstructing that Union of the States, the existence of which had been threatened, and for the preservation of which unusual and unprecedented measures had been required. The questions arising concerning the legal and constitutional status of the insurgent States, as well as those relating to the policy and duty of the nation towards the emancipated race, were of such momentous consequence that thorough political discussion was an absolute necessity. That such a discussion should be earnest, and that parties should take their ground and strive to maintain it with all the force of party fervor, and that, as new positions were taken, independent and thoughtful citizens should change their political relations, was what might have been expected, and was what happened. Saltonstall was a partisan in the best sense of that word. He believed strongly that which he did believe; and he was therefore soon embarked on the sea of political agitation. He did not need to change his party relations, for he found that the Democratic organization, with which he had acted since the disappearance of the Bell and Everett party, was in sympathy with the views he entertained. This party, always in opposition until the first election of Mr. Cleveland in 1884, was the recognized political adversary of the Republican party. It challenged every act of the latter, whether relating to constitutional construction or to administrative action. The constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, it is true, met with no serious opposition from the Democratic party; and in Massachusetts the Democratic representatives in the Legislature joined unanimously with the Republicans in its ratification. But the measures of the

Republicans relating to the enforcement of civil rights were deemed by the Democrats an invasion of the rights of the States ; and the presence of Federal troops in the South, and their interference in some instances to maintain those State governments which were recognized at Washington, was denounced as the employing of the national forces to overthrow local self-government. Neither did the Democrats approve of conferring the suffrage upon the negroes ; and they generally resisted the adoption of the constitutional amendment basing representation of the States in Congress upon the number of male citizens entitled by State law to exercise the suffrage. There existed, also, during General Grant's two terms as President, a strong belief that corrupt men were tolerated in office by the official leaders of the Republican party. The charges made by the Democrats might have seemed sweeping and perfunctory ; but independent and patriotic adherents of the Republican party were obliged to admit, and did admit, that there were glaring instances of breach of trust in government officers ; and when at last a Cabinet officer under President Grant was forced out of office for high crimes and misdemeanors, the Democrats may well have claimed before the people that they had sustained their charges.

As the Presidential election of 1876 approached, it was apparent that the result would be doubtful. That the Republican party had lost ground in public opinion was evident. This had been clearly and strikingly indicated by the result of the Congressional elections in 1874. In that year a Democratic House of Representatives was chosen for the first time since 1860 ; and in the same year William Gaston, the Democratic candidate, was elected Governor of Massachusetts. Many influential members of the party had desired to give Saltonstall the nomination. Had he received it in that year, he would have been governor of Massachusetts. As it was, Mr. Gaston, a distinguished lawyer and a man of irreproachable character, received his hearty and active support ; and he contributed much by his activity and zeal to the success of his party.

Governor Gaston was inaugurated in January, 1875. The Legislature of that year made an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars to aid in securing a due representation of the

public institutions of the State, and to aid its citizens in making a proper display of their various arts and industries, at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, which was to open on the 4th of July, 1876. There was some scepticism in the Legislature and in the community as to the benefit likely to result from the Exposition, which perhaps accounts for the meagreness of the appropriation. Governor Gaston appointed Saltonstall the chief commissioner for Massachusetts, and he received his commission in September, 1875. There were only six weeks from the appointment of the commission to November 1, 1875, after which date no applications for space were to be received. Saltonstall made the best of this short period, not only by preparing and organizing the work of the commission, but by speaking at meetings held to interest the people of the State in the Exhibition. In these his oratory, always earnest and fervent, was most effective. From beginning to end he held the attention of his hearers and roused them into enthusiasm. Especially was this the case in Lowell, where he spoke to a large audience. Two hundred and twenty-eight applications from Massachusetts for space had been entered before the appointment of the commission. As a result of the efforts made by the chief commissioner and his associates, through circulars and meetings, the number was brought up to fifteen hundred.

At the opening of the Exhibition Saltonstall spoke in Independence Square as the representative of Massachusetts. His speech was much commended. No doubt his fine presence and his clear and penetrating voice added to the strength of what he said. One of the newspapers said of him: "His was one of the most interesting speeches of the occasion, and noticeably the only one that could be heard on the outskirts of the immense crowd."

The Massachusetts exhibit, notwithstanding the hurry of its preparation and the inadequacy of the legislative appropriation, was yet, owing to the energy of many of its public-spirited citizens under the ardent leadership of the chief commissioner, both satisfactory and imposing. It was especially so in the Department of Education and Science, which was a most thorough and detailed exhibition of the school system of the State, illustrated by documents, maps, charts, photographs, statistical tables, books showing class work from

many cities and towns, drawings by pupils, catalogues of free libraries, and reports of educational and charitable institutions. One room was occupied by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and another by the Worcester Free Institute ; and, these were among the chief features of the scientific exhibit. The department was visited by at least one hundred and thirty thousand people, "most of whom," says Saltonstall in his report to the Governor and Council, "came to this retired spot for the purpose of studying the system of education in Massachusetts." The "retired spot" was the east gallery of the main building, of which the central and most desirable space was assigned to an organ company, and consisted of six rooms with their entrances and stairways. Visitors from foreign countries were especially numerous, including many from the principal European nations, from Japan, China, South America, and Australia. The Marine Exhibit contained models of ocean and river craft in Massachusetts from its settlement, and was of great interest, receiving several awards.

The Art Exhibit was hardly as successful as the others. Many of the best artists of the State did not contribute, and indeed it must be said that as an Art Exhibition the Centennial Exposition of 1876, taken as a whole, cannot be considered a pronounced success. These three departments were the special work and were under the direction of the commission. The exhibition of Massachusetts machinery and manufactures was in the hands of private exhibitors, and was not in charge of the commission, although always receiving its friendly and cordial aid and advice. Saltonstall's duties as commissioner continued during the continuance of the exhibition and for some time afterwards ; and it was not until March, 1877, that his final Report was sent to Governor Rice, who had succeeded Governor Gaston in 1876. But before that time he had again become prominent in the field of politics.

The Presidential election of 1876 will always be remembered as the occasion of a serious test of the strength and permanency of constitutional government in the United States. That it stood the test, and that the people of the whole country manifested a patriotism which rose above all party lines and sectional feelings, renders it possible to be

reconciled to the undoubted and painful fact that in some of the States the real will of the people at the election was unascertainable, on account of the fraud and violence practised in those States in the interest of one or both of the great parties.

The day after the election it was generally believed that Governor Tilden of New York, the Democratic candidate, had obtained a majority in the Electoral College; but it soon appeared that in the three States of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida both parties claimed that their electors were chosen, and that if the electoral votes of the three States were counted for Governor Hayes of Ohio, the Republican candidate, he would be elected by a majority of one vote. The disappointment of the Democrats, who had received much support from voters who four years before had voted the Republican ticket and who believed their candidate fairly elected, was intense. Not less strong was the feeling among Republican voters; many of whom honestly believed that the loss of the Presidency was equivalent to throwing the government into the hands of those who but a few years before had taken up arms to destroy it. The leaders and managers of both parties were impressed with the necessity of watching the official count in the contested States, that their organizations might lose nothing to which they could reasonably claim to be entitled. Unquestionably, too, there were right-minded men, even among the political managers themselves, who desired that the exact truth should be ascertained whatever the result might be. Such, however, was the force and effect of party feeling among those in active management of the campaign, that it required a more than ordinary soundness of judgment, and an unusual ability to discriminate impartially, to bring any man in such a position to a conclusion unfavorable to his party's success, unless the evidence were absolutely clear and beyond any reasonable doubt. It was in this spirit that representatives of both parties soon appeared in the capitals of the contested States to investigate the circumstances of the election, and to see that their respective political friends were not defrauded of their rights.

While Saltonstall was sitting in church in Germantown with Mr. John Welsh, the Chairman of the Board of Finance of the Centennial Exhibition, he received a telegram from the Democratic National Committee requesting him to go to

Florida to be present at the canvassing of the votes. He hesitated at first to comply with the request on account of his duties as commissioner, which he thought might require his personal presence; but he was assured by Mr. Welsh that these should receive all necessary attention, and, being strongly urged by Republican friends who had entire confidence in his personal integrity, and who knew that, ardent as were his political sympathies, he was before all things a man of truth and honor, he proceeded at once to Tallahassee. It is unnecessary and would be unprofitable to recite the details of the investigation that he made in Florida. Suffice it to say that it was thorough, and that it was his honest conviction that under a fair count the Tilden electors had been chosen, and that the Returning Board should have so declared. Any one who will study the subject without prejudice, and with that freedom from excitement that the lapse of twenty years may well bring to an investigator, will probably come to the conclusion that the result in Florida was doubtful and unascertainable in view of the frauds practised on both sides. That Saltonstall, after investigation, concurred in the opinion of his party associates may perhaps be thought an indication that he lacked the power to shake off the prejudices and demands of party. But it will be seen that before the end of his life he manifested that power in signal instances. If indeed he agreed with the Democratic managers in his opinion as to the true result of the election in Florida, it is to be said that there were distinguished and honorable Republicans who disagreed with the opinion of the campaign managers of their party. Among the Republicans who, like Saltonstall, went to Florida first of all to ascertain the truth, and whose character like his made the mere suggestion of a low motive impossible, was General Francis C. Barlow, a Massachusetts man, a Harvard man, always an anti-slavery Republican, a distinguished and valiant soldier, a lawyer of a mind both keen and judicial. In a report made to President Grant he disagreed to the action of the canvassing Board of Florida, in some of the most important of the contested cases, and said, —

“Although I understand perfectly what the result would be if the Board had decided the several cases mentioned as I should have decided them, yet I do not feel sure to-day whether the vote actually cast gave a Hayes or a Tilden majority.”

The final settlement of the controversy by the device of the Electoral Commission, specially appointed by Congress to declare the result in contested States, is matter of history. The principle upon which it seems to have been decided was that the vote of any State, as returned by the officials or boards appointed for the purpose by State law, must be taken as true; and Mr. Hayes was therefore declared elected. In this result all the people loyally acquiesced, however much many of them might doubt the soundness of the principle, or might believe that, even if sound, it was not fairly applied in some or all of the contested States.

From 1876 to 1884, when President Cleveland was chosen for his first term, Saltonstall took no very active part in politics. He presided over the Democratic Convention in 1879, and was in 1880 a delegate to the Democratic National Convention that nominated General Hancock for the Presidency. The unique political manœuvres in Massachusetts of General Butler, who had left the Republicans and joined the Democrats, were highly displeasing to many of the most honorable and influential leaders of the latter party. Saltonstall was not one of those to whom the idea of a "regular" nomination was a fetich; and although General Butler captured the Democratic nomination for governor for several years and was chosen governor at the State election of 1882, he never received any support from Saltonstall, who was outspoken always in his opposition to the ideas and methods of the then acknowledged leader of his party in this State. General Butler was defeated for re-election in 1883, after one of the most exciting campaigns ever held in the State, by Governor George D. Robinson; and, upon his disappearance as a leading force in Massachusetts politics, the Democratic party of the State returned to its old leaders.

The election of President Cleveland in 1884 placed Saltonstall for the first time in his political life in full sympathy with a national administration, and no longer acting with what at times must have seemed to him a hopeless minority in public affairs. After twenty-five years of struggle and contest he at last found his party victorious, and he, as one of its accepted and honored leaders, might well be selected to represent it in Massachusetts. He was accordingly appointed Collector of the Port of Boston. The custom has grown up of considering

the incumbent of this office the special representative of the President in Massachusetts. There may not indeed be much logic or philosophy in supposing that a collector of revenue ought necessarily to be a man whose political beliefs coincide with the party in power at Washington. In private life a man who collects the dues of another is not ordinarily selected on account of agreement or disagreement with his employer upon general questions. Honesty and capacity are considered the essential qualifications; and it is not easy to see why there should be a different rule in the management of public trusts.

It must be recognized, however, that custom had decreed that certain important and conspicuous offices outside of the President's Cabinet should be deemed political; and among these undoubtedly were those of the collectors of the principal seaports of the country. Custom indeed had gone much farther than this. It had become the practice of the government for a new administration upon its inauguration to make a clean sweep of all the offices, great and small, as though they were all of political significance, and to fill them with its friends. For the last twenty years, however, public opinion had been directed to this practice, and many reflecting and patriotic men had come to believe that it was demoralizing and corrupting; that it greatly impaired the efficiency of the public service; and that it tended to destroy the usefulness of the appointing power by taking away from statesmen the time needed for thought and action on public questions, and wearing them out in listening to the importunate claims of office-seekers. As a result of this belief Congress had legislated, and had placed a limited number of purely business offices under what are known as the civil-service rules; providing that these offices should be filled as the result of competitive examination, and not at the absolute pleasure of the appointing power. This legislation was understood to be tentative and experimental. It certainly did not go very far in the direction of change; and it seemed more like a concession to an increasing public sentiment than a spirited advance in reforming a practice that was bad. It did not assure to any worthy and competent government employee the possession of his place while the worth and competency lasted. It only provided that certain vacant places, for whatever cause made vacant, should be filled by competition.

The active civil-service reformers of the country desired much more than this. They believed that removals of competent officers should not be made on merely political grounds ; and they also believed that a very much larger number of offices than either Congress or the President had as yet determined, should be classified and placed under the civil-service rules. One or two object-lessons were needed to show that these ideas were not impracticable ; and that, if carried out, they would strengthen and purify the public service. One such lesson had been given during President Hayes's administration by Carl Schurz, as Secretary of the Interior, who administered his department with perfect success in accordance with these principles. Another such lesson had been furnished during President Arthur's administration by Mr. Pearson, Postmaster of New York, whose remarkably successful conduct of his office had been entirely upon reform principles. It remained to be seen whether the same thing could be done by the chief of an important Custom House, who would labor under difficulties greater than those of a Cabinet officer at Washington, as being more exposed to the continuous pressure of local politicians and the never-ending applications of beggars for office. A department in Washington might be besieged by such beggars for a time, but they could only remain at the Capital as long as their funds held out ; and release must come to the department at last. But it must sometimes have seemed to the head of an important administrative office in any large city, as if the whole community were bent upon pressing the claims of friends for the few or the many, the important or the trivial, offices at his disposal ; and that these efforts were never relaxed. If a professed civil-service reformer could successfully maintain his principles in such a position, a victory would indeed be won for the cause.

Saltonstall was not one of the recognized leaders of the reform movement. These were for the most part men whose party ties were not very strong, and who did not expect the active support of party leaders as such. But Saltonstall had always announced that he believed in the reform, and was in a sense committed to it. Experience, however, had shown, and still shows, that holders of official positions who have claimed to be civil-service reformers have not always lived up to the principles of the reform. Excuses have never been

wanting for such self-contradictions. Perhaps the excuse most frequently given has been that, however desirable in theory the reform might be, it could not under existing conditions be reduced to practice. The reformers of Massachusetts knew, however, that a man of honor and courage was now in the Custom House, and they hoped and believed that the needed object-lesson would be given; and in this they were not disappointed.

Saltonstall took charge of the Custom House December 1, 1885. He signalized his first day by reappointing all the Deputy Collectors save one; and there was not then or at any subsequent time during his continuance in office anything approaching to a "clean sweep" of the lower officials. On several occasions at public gatherings, where the Collector was expected to speak as the representative of the National Administration, he took the opportunity to say explicitly that he proposed to enforce the civil-service law, not simply as a public officer bound by his oath of office, but as a citizen who heartily sympathized with its objects. He abstained from pledges in the matter of removals, and made no promises in relation to filling positions outside of the classified service. These were certainly not needed, as his subsequent course in office abundantly showed.

For several months the Custom House seemed to be quietly administered, and from the lack of attention given to it by the press, it was understood that no upheaval was going on. At last, however, an attack was made, and it came from the political opponents of the Collector. The onslaught was not formidable, and it was easily met and repelled. Saltonstall was charged by a Republican newspaper in Boston with having stated "that the list of applicants certified by the examiners was carefully gone over, and at the same time the list of letters forwarded by the backers of these applicants; and the places were awarded to the men who had the strongest party backing." Although such a statement was one which indicated an absolute abandonment of his principles on the part of the Collector as well as a violation of law, he apparently thought that he could afford to treat with contempt the assertion that he had made it, and that his character as a man of integrity was well enough established for him to be silent. He was certainly not presumptuous in holding this opinion.

His friends, however, were more sensitive, and the newspaper that first published the accusation was compelled to disavow it and was put upon the defensive to explain just how it happened to make the publication. The Newton Civil Service Reform Association, of which body Saltonstall was a Vice-President, thought it best to address a letter to him asking him to make a formal denial of the statement; and with this request the Collector at once complied. He said:—

“I can say to you explicitly that I made no such statement or anything equivalent to it. It would belie all my convictions and be an absolutely incorrect account of all my actions in regard to appointments. As to the Inspectors referred to, as in my other appointments to the classified service, they were appointed without regard to and in most cases without knowledge of their political views. You must be aware how useless it is for me to deny all the misstatements and perversions of a hostile press, and you may be perfectly confident that the views I had before I accepted office remain unshaken, and that my official actions will be guided by them.”

The attention of the public having thus been called to the Custom House, it was ascertained and made known through the newspapers, by the civil-service reformers, that when Saltonstall took office in December, 1885, there were two hundred and forty offices within the classified service; that in the first six months of his administration he had removed ten of these; and that their places had been filled by competitive examination according to law, and without inquiry into the political opinions of the person appointed. It was also stated by the same authority that, of ninety-seven officials not within the classified service, all of whom were subject to removal by the Collector and whose successors he had the power to appoint without competitive examination, he had removed six; and that all those who were capable, and who had attended strictly to their duties, had been retained. It is safe to say that no such record had ever before been made in the administration of the Boston Custom House. No denial was ever made of the accuracy of these statements; and the effect of the incident that has been described was to call public attention to the absolutely certain fact that Saltonstall had used his power as Collector, not only in strict accordance with the law, but also in entire conformity to the requirements of the most advanced civil-service reformers.

It appeared that a complete and radical change of methods had been made in the Custom House in the direction of thorough eradication of the old practices under the "spoils" system, and it was not long before it became evident that the new system of administration that had been inaugurated was to be consistently continued. Proof of this was furnished by the action of some of the Collector's party associates; who were the organizers of the second attack made upon him in the summer of 1887. The hungry office-seekers of the Democratic party had begun to appreciate that their expectation — that the old-fashioned "sweep," though it might be postponed, was sure to come — was not likely to be realized. As a last effort to bring the Collector to what they perhaps considered a proper sense of the obligations of his position, it was decided to turn upon him the organized force of the party machinery.

The State Committee of the party took the matter in hand, acting by their Executive Committee; and it was determined to call Saltonstall to account, as well as General Corse, a distinguished officer, then Postmaster of Boston, who was administering his office upon the same principles that had distinguished Mr. Pearson in New York.

Two members of the Executive Committee, commissioned by their associates, made what may perhaps be called an official visit to the Custom House. They informed the Collector that they had come in behalf of the State Committee. They then said, — as Saltonstall himself reports the interview, — "We have come down to go over the list of your subordinates with you, and to find out how many of them are Republicans, and why they are retained in office." The Collector replied that he was not responsible to the State Committee, and that he should decline to show the list of subordinates to its agents. His account of the interview continues as follows: —

"I told the gentlemen of the Committee when they called upon me that I was very willing to give them, as individuals, the information they were seeking, especially of the very considerable number of changes that have been made to increase the efficiency of the service; but that it would be impossible to give the number of Democrats and Republicans in office, as I had but an indefinite knowledge of the political predilections of the men."

In explanation of his action he continued: —

"The question of the number of removals I have answered to many people; but when that inquiry came in the spirit of a demand from a committee of a political party I refused to answer it. I did so because it was my duty, and not from any whim. If the civil-service reform law was designed for any purpose, it was intended to remove public offices from the control of local politicians. Is not the civil-service law as binding as any other, and am I not bound by oath to obey that law? Should it by any unfortunate change of public sentiment be repealed, and the Custom House be remanded to the position of a political machine, then, without doubt, I should feel impelled by my own convictions to resign. Public opinion has changed greatly within a few years, and its trend is surely towards civil-service reform. That feeling is spreading rapidly, and, even if there were no such reform law, the wholesale removal of subordinate officers in the Custom House would hardly be tolerated to-day as it was formerly. If I can conduct the office for the best interest of the government, and at the same time raise it to the position it should permanently occupy under the reform law, I shall consider that I have been of some service in my day and generation."

It will be observed that Saltonstall acknowledges that "a considerable number of changes" had been made to increase the efficiency of the service. The following extract from a letter written by him to Mr. Stuart, of Philadelphia, and published in May, 1888, may be inserted here as showing the principle upon which these changes were made, and also the intelligence and independence of the Collector in disregarding an old practice when he found it to be contrary to the public interest.

"I have to say that during the first six months of my occupancy of this office, or until June, 1886, I followed the precedent and custom which I found prevailing in the service, so far as regards the form of my communications to the department, assigning no reasons for my recommendations for removal. Since that date, however, judging that a statement of reasons for changes in the force under my jurisdiction would be more in accordance with the spirit of the civil-service law, and with the purposes of an administration desirous of furthering the reform, I have in each case of removal stated the ground of my recommendation, and, when it has seemed desirable for a better understanding of the case, have accompanied my statement with a report from the chief officer of the division or department in which the person to be removed has been employed, presenting the cause in detail. In reply to the second part of your inquiry I have to say that no inconvenience

has resulted from this practice, and that I can conceive of no circumstances under which it would prove inconvenient to the appointing and removing authority. Its advantages are obvious, since, for the protection of the authority making the removal, it places on record the motive of the action, and forbids accusation to be brought at a later day of unjust or improper purposes; and for the protection of the official removed, it permits a review of the case, if there is reason to suppose that injustice has been done, and the reinstatement of the person removed, in case it is made to appear that the cause of his removal was baseless."

The attempt of the Democratic Committee to dictate to the Collector, and his courteous but firm refusal to comply with its demands, were much discussed in the press. The commendation of his course was general; and the only dissenters were of that class of politicians who seemed incapable of understanding that the old system of rewards for political services had become odious, and that it was condemned by the enlightened public opinion of the community. When the State Convention of the Democratic party met in the autumn of 1887, the Investigating Committee presented a Report in which, after complaining of the promotion of certain Republicans who had been retained in the Custom House, the Committee went on to lament, as a grievance of the first magnitude, that "Democrats and less favored Republicans must wait and wade through the slow and oftentimes unsatisfactory process of a civil-service examination in order to reach even the minor places left vacant by these Republican promotions." More convincing testimony to the integrity and consistency of the Collector would have been hard to obtain. The Convention however abstained from any direct approval of this sentiment of the Investigating Committee. The resolutions adopted on the general subject expressed the opinion that "offensive partisans" should not be allowed to remain in office by the Federal officeholders representing the Administration in this State, and that all offices "not representative in their character should be filled by persons selected for their fitness, capacity, and integrity." The opponents of the Collector claimed to be satisfied with these declarations; and his friends saw nothing in them that required a protest. The drafting of party platforms to suit all tastes and to excite no opposition has become a fine art in American politics; and the civil-

service "plank" of the Massachusetts Democratic Convention of 1889 is a very perfect specimen of its kind.

There was no renewal of the attack upon the Collector's principles of administration as long as he remained in office. The Boston Custom House was held up to the country by civil-service reformers everywhere as an illustration of an ideal administration; and from no respectable quarter did there come any further criticism.

The Presidential election of 1888 resulted in the defeat of the Democratic party, and the election of Mr. Harrison in the place of Mr. Cleveland. The coming into power of a new Administration, representing the political party that was opposed to that in office, and the action of such an Administration in relation to appointments, was awaited with interest by civil-service reformers; as it would indicate what advance, if any, had been made in the strength of the reform idea. In his letter of acceptance of the Republican nomination, the new President had defined his views by saying "that fidelity and efficiency should be the essential test of appointment, and that only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office." The latter phrase was no doubt susceptible of different interpretations. It could hardly mean merely that the existing civil-service law would not be disregarded; but it would imply that, in Mr. Harrison's opinion, the principles of the law might advantageously be extended. Just how far he would go in that direction remained to be seen. It soon appeared that of those offices which the practice of the Government since the days of President Jackson had recognized as positions for political partisans, a certain number, and those the most important, would continue to be treated as places for prominent friends of the new Administration. Such an office, of course, was that of Collector of the Port of Boston. The tenure of this office is by law fixed at four years. Saltonstall had received his commission in May, 1886, and his term would expire in May, 1890. Whether the office were in any fair sense of the word a political office was matter for argument. That it had been so considered was undeniable. And yet it was equally unquestionable that, under Saltonstall, political opinions had not been regarded in the appointments or removals made by the Collector; and that his was the first administration of the Custom House,

since the introduction of the spoils system, in which they had not been so regarded. The question was therefore presented directly to President Harrison whether it might not well be recognized that there was no reason for treating the Collectorship of the Port of Boston as anything but a highly important and responsible administrative position, requiring character and capacity in its incumbent, but not necessarily agreement with the Executive Government of the country upon party questions. It was an opportunity to take a step of vital importance, if it were really desired to complete the divorce of responsible offices of trust from the unnecessary and injurious interference of party managers. If the Collector of the Port of Boston had demonstrated the practicability and the advantage of the new system of appointments and removals, his reappointment would show to the country that the system was emphatically approved by the government; and other Collectors might be expected to heed the lesson. If he were even allowed to serve out the term for which he was appointed, it would mark an approval of his course in office and a recognition of an unusual and valuable service, by departing, in this instance, from the practice of removing a Collector in order to give a position to an honored or useful party leader.

President Harrison seems to have hesitated as to the course that should be pursued. He became President on the 4th of March, 1889, and no intimation was given of his intentions in relation to the Boston Custom House until January, 1890. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Windom, then wrote to the Collector a short note, saying only, "The President is ready to make a change in the Collectorship at Boston, but would be glad to do so in a way that would be most agreeable to you." This, it may be supposed, was an invitation to Saltonstall to send in his resignation; and so far it may be considered a faint recognition of his service, as the practice undoubtedly had been to remove a Collector whenever a new Administration was ready to do so with no previous notification to the incumbent, and with no suggestion of resignation. In replying to the letter of Secretary Windom after acknowledging its receipt, Saltonstall went on as follows:—

"In reply I beg to say that, placing entire confidence in the declarations of the President concerning tenure of office, I am prepared to



serve the term of four years for which I was commissioned on the 5th of May, 1886, unless removed by the authority of the President for such cause as he has announced to be controlling in such cases. If such cause exists, I respectfully request to be informed of the same."

After stating that he had endeavored to perform his duties "in conformity to the spirit as well as the letter of the civil-service law," he continued:—

"I cannot, therefore, stultify myself by any act which would imply the consciousness of dereliction on my part, and prefer to leave the decision of this matter in the hands of the President."

No reply was made to this letter, and on the 6th of February Mr. Alanson W. Beard was appointed Collector, and about the 1st of March—two months only before the expiration of the term for which he was appointed—Saltonstall turned over the Custom House to his successor.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Saltonstall understood President Harrison's ante-election declaration "that only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office," to mean that no removals would be made unless for cause. It certainly was susceptible of that construction; and if the phrase were indeed uncertain or vague, it was desirable that the country should learn just how the President construed his own language. By declining to resign Saltonstall compelled the Administration to take its ground; and to assert, by its action, that the Collectorship of the Port of Boston should continue to be, as it had been, an office to be held by a partisan associate of the President, as soon as the President could determine to whom he wished to give the position.

There was some controversy in the press before and after Saltonstall's retirement, and the whole question was discussed with earnestness. There were those who defended the action of the President in removing him upon the ground that the office of Collector was one of such a character that only a confidential friend of the Administration should hold it; that unless the Collector agreed with the party in power upon the question of how the national revenue should be raised, he could not be depended upon to carry out any law that such a party might have the power to enact; that usage had made

the Collector the special local representative of the President, and he must needs be his political friend whom he might properly consult as to local affairs.

It was replied to this that there was nothing in the duties of the Collector that made it impossible for him to execute the revenue laws as he found them, and not as he wished them to be; and it might have been added, as a pertinent fact, that Saltonstall had been for four years executing revenue laws in the good policy of which he did not believe; and that not only was his good faith never challenged, but that when called upon to meet questions of construction he had at times decided in favor of the higher duty upon imports, notwithstanding his low-tariff opinions, because the law seemed to him clear against the claim of the importer for a lower rate of duty.

It was claimed by some of the defenders of the President's action, that a free trader could not interpret a protective tariff; and yet Saltonstall, who was called a free trader by these same defenders, had been interpreting a protective tariff for four years, with entire honesty and fairness; and no protectionist had even ventured to accuse him of any misinterpretation. It is difficult to treat with the reserve proper in an historical memoir the offensive and pessimistic suggestion that an honest man cannot remain an honest man when intrusted with the administration of the laws, unless he agree to the wisdom of the enactment he is called upon to interpret. To admit the correctness of such a proposition is to impeach the honor and destroy the usefulness of all judicial and ministerial officers however high their characters and however great their attainments; and if it were generally accepted, the time would have come for the abolition of the judicial system of the United States. But, happily, no such doctrine is generally accepted. If it was propounded by men who claimed to be civil-service reformers in order to justify the removal of Saltonstall, it may be regarded as indicating the difficulty of finding a satisfactory excuse, from the point of view of those whose partisanship transcended their devotion to the reform, for an action, which certainly manifested no disposition on the part of President Harrison's administration to be over-zealous in its support.

That usage had made the Collector's office political could

not be denied. So far as the defenders of the removal relied on precedent, their position was unassailable; but the theory of the civil-service reform movement is based upon the idea that the "spoils" system is a bad one; and that, if it has become in a measure fastened upon the government, it is all the more necessary that it should be overthrown, as being fatal to honest, conscientious, and efficient administration, and consequently grossly unjust to the people at large.

It is certain that it was the judgment of Massachusetts that Saltonstall should have been allowed to serve out his term. The press of Boston was nearly unanimous in that opinion, three of the four Republican journals joining with the Democratic and independent newspapers. Distinguished members of the Republican party, among others the late Governor Greenhalge, openly expressed their disapprobation of his removal. There was a general feeling that a man who had performed a signal public service had not been treated with consideration, much less with appreciation. This feeling found expression in a letter addressed to Saltonstall inviting him to a public dinner, which was signed by upwards of one hundred and eighty persons who may fairly be called representative citizens. The list included the Presidents of Harvard College and of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the honored names of James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Phillips Brooks, leading members of the bar, professors, literary men and business men, clergymen and laymen, Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. They said:—

"We have seen that during your tenure of office the administration of the Custom House has been for the first time in a generation free from partisan influence; that it has been conducted on business principles by business methods, and by men trained in those principles and methods; that it has been just and considerate to importers, and entirely faithful to the government. . . . We have heard nothing of Custom House influence in caucuses and conventions, except in the way of complaint from persons who desired and demanded that such an influence should be exerted to advance their personal and political ends, and who have not succeeded in obtaining it. . . . As in many other things, so, in practical reforms, it is the first step that counts; and while we look forward hopefully to a continuance of those better methods of conducting public business which are now characteristic of

the Boston Custom House, and which have given it an enviable reputation throughout the country, we desire to express our thanks and obligations to the public officer who has been the courageous and steadfast leader in the new order of things, and who has demonstrated that reform in the public service is not only desirable, but perfectly practicable."

Saltonstall declined the public dinner, but accepted an invitation to sit for his portrait, which was painted by Huntington and placed in the Custom House. In his letter acknowledging the honorable tribute that he had received, he took occasion to express his views upon the importance and benefits of the reform with which his name has now become identified as one of the most consistent and most courageous of its promoters. The following extracts from his letter sufficiently indicate his opinions:—

"The reform of the civil service has for many years impressed me as of vital importance, believing that upon this depends the perpetuity of our Republican government. Without it the Republic may endure in form and in name, but the soul of liberty cannot survive in a government corrupted by the spoils system. With such a reform, not only prescribed by law, but honestly carried out in practice, the great danger threatening our institutions from within will disappear; and our legislators and statesmen will be free to devote their energies, now largely wasted upon the demeaning trivialities of patronage, to the better work of government. . . . It gives me great satisfaction to testify to the admirable results of the merit system in its application to the conduct of the business of the Boston Custom House. Had there been any doubt in my mind as to its benefit, such doubt would have disappeared at an early stage of my observation of its practical workings. The improvement in the morale of the whole force, from highest to lowest, was noticeable as soon as it became understood that the political belief of individual officers in no way affected their standing; that their tenure of office was secure during good behavior and faithful performance of duty; that promotion would only follow demonstrated efficiency; and that removals would be made only for the good of the service in case of misconduct, neglect, or manifest incapacity. . . . I found under the improved conditions following the establishment of the merit system, that the steadily increasing business of the Custom House was fully met by a corresponding increase of ability in the force handling it; and that, with an annual aggregate of business increased by twenty-five per cent during the four years of my occupancy of the office of Collector, the necessary work could be, and was performed by a smaller number of employees, and at a considerably less cost to the government."

The retirement of Saltonstall from the Custom House marks the close of his public life. Integrity and honor had distinguished his career from the beginning to the end. Whether in sympathy with the public opinion of the moment or not, it was well understood that he was always in earnest; and this trait of character is not so universal among public men, or indeed among men in general, that the possession of it can be considered commonplace. The extracts given above show that he could state his opinions with clearness and force. As a public speaker he was always impressive. His transparent sincerity was manifest in every speech that he made, whether the occasion were social or public. He made many addresses on various subjects, agricultural, commercial, and historical, and always held the sympathetic attention of his audiences. The early history of New England was a subject that called out his best powers as an orator, and he was specially eloquent in describing the faith and the firmness of the founders of Plymouth and of Massachusetts Bay. He presided at the annual dinner of the Alumni of Harvard College in 1886, as Vice-President, and again in 1892, as President of the Association of the Alumni; and no man could express with more feeling than did he those sentiments towards the "Alma Mater" which never lose their interest by repetition. His voice, too, was heard at the meetings of the Unitarian body of Christians with which he had been connected from childhood; and here he declared his religious faith with manly simplicity and fervor. The power and eloquence with which he discussed public questions could not but inspire regret that, in the vicissitudes of politics, he had never had the opportunities for the thorough discussion of such questions that are given by service in Congress.

There was an unusual personal charm about the man. It was impossible to be brought into relations with him and not be attracted by the genuine cordiality of his manner, by his lofty scorn of meanness and chicanery, and above all by his kindness of heart. Many of the employees at the Custom House can testify to kind and generous acts towards them; and it is certain that Saltonstall, who would bestow no offices except as the result of competitive examination, and who had no favorites or henchmen, had nevertheless the hearty affection of his subordinates in an unequalled degree. While his firm

adherence to principle commanded their respect, the never failing courtesy and consideration that he extended to them won all their hearts. It was an interesting and significant occasion when on the first day of January, 1889, the employees of the Custom House, in paying the usual New Year's visit to the Collector, thus addressed him through their spokesman:

"During the years in which you have honored this office we have come to know you as something more than a superior officer; rather as a constant friend. We feel, sir, that we appreciate somewhat the perplexities which have surrounded you, and we know that you have always stood steadfast with a desire to promote the public good as your controlling motive. We believe that the principles you have laid down should be fundamental in the service."

Leverett Saltonstall died at his home in Newton on the 15th of April, 1895. His last public appearance was at the dinner of the Alumni on Commencement, 1894, when he responded for his classmates, at their request and by their choice, to the toast given to the Class of 1844, which had graduated fifty years before. He spoke with his accustomed fervor and eloquence, although illness had somewhat diminished his physical power.

There is a familiar passage from Shakespeare, so often quoted that it may seem trite to quote it here; and yet, in the judgment of all those who had any intimate knowledge of Leverett Saltonstall, the words of the great poet and dramatist are most fittingly applied to him, —

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

MAY MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock P. M., in the rooms temporarily occupied by the Society, at No. 73 Tremont Street; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting was read and approved, and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library. Among them was Col. Theodore A. Dodge, who gave a complete set of his historical and military publications.

The Hon. Richard Olney was elected a Resident Member.

The Hon. ROGER WOLCOTT said that he had received from the Bishop of London an official notification that the original manuscript of Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation had been delivered to the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, lately Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, to be by him placed in the hands of the Governor of Massachusetts; and that he had also received from Mr. Bayard a similar notification of the receipt of the volume, which Mr. Bayard would take an early opportunity after his arrival in this country to bring to Boston.

Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith were appointed a Committee for publishing the Proceedings for the current year.

Mr. JAMES M. BUGBEE presented the memoir of the late Hon. Henry L. Pierce, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

Dr. Samuel A. Green was appointed to write the memoir of the late Abbott Lawrence, the younger, in place of the late Hamilton A. Hill, who died before completing the work assigned to him; and the Right Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., was appointed to write the memoir of the late Amos A. Lawrence, which had been previously assigned to Dr. Green.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR said that his attention had been called by Mr. Edward Arber to the possibility that the missing account of the voyage of the "Mayflower" sent to England by

Governor Bradford in the "Fortune," the next vessel which sailed for home, might be found in the French archives, and that the matter had been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State and the newly appointed American Ambassador to France, with a view to having a proper search made for this interesting document.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, JR., referred to the remarks by the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, at the Annual Meeting, on the Bowdoin and Temple Papers, and spoke in substance as follows:—

Those of you who listened to the remarks of our associate Judge Chamberlain at our last Annual Meeting may have been led to expect, from his reference to my studies of the political progress of the Revolution, something from me to-day on the theme to the exposition of which he has been so long devoted.

Of course, I would not upon this floor attempt an elaborate defence of the patriotic party, knowing full well the comparative distastefulness (or shall I say unpopularity?) of the views I hold, and the insufficient time to which I am limited by a regard to your patience, and a consideration of the rights of other members present. I cannot, however, fully excuse myself for neglecting this opportunity to animadvert upon the drift of our new school of American historical writers and teachers towards obsolete ultra-Tory notions. Indeed, many of these writers are not merely drifting towards the old enemy, but have already joined the hostile forces with all the enthusiasm of recent converts. Sophistries, some ingeniously plausible and some extremely weak, and glaring perversions of history are resorted to to defend their abandonment of the theories of the Revolutionary patriots.

One point of general concurrence with them seems to be the opinion that the omnipotence of Parliament is and has always been an acknowledged fundamental feature of the English Constitution, whereas that is precisely the question upon which, at the beginning of the Revolution, the patriots of the colonies and the supporters of the ministry held diametrically opposite views. Indeed, it is only by insisting upon the negative of this proposition that the Revolution could then or can now be justified. This is a question upon which great authorities have differed from as far back as England has a history worthy of

the name. The controversy admits of but two methods of settlement: one by mutual agreement or yielding, — with or without arbitration, — and the other by the sword. Both of these methods are legitimate, according to English law. The American Revolution ended in trial by battle, and, however unsatisfactory the result may have been to the defeated party, it was conclusive; and, so far as the relations of Great Britain to her thirteen American colonies are concerned, it is a complete estoppel to further dispute regarding the issue involved. Hence it does not lie in the mouths of either party, especially of the descendants of American patriots, to impeach a judgment the validity of which has been recognized by the British Government in making it the basis of diplomatic intercourse, as well as by reconstructing the colonial policy of the Empire in accordance with the principles for which those patriots contended.

I have never, before this Society, attempted to criticise particular essays except when they were used to support some motion before us, — deeming such criticism not legitimately within the purposes for which the Society was formed; so in what I may say in reference to special instances of the fault I condemn, I shall forbear to mention authors or titles.

I have lately read an elaborate historical essay prepared with admirable industry and with full citations of the authorities which the writer deemed important for his purpose, in which the charge of beginning the “usurpation,” as he calls it, of 1775 is laid upon the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. Now, the logical steps by which this conclusion is arrived at proceed from the assumption that the only legitimate foundation of the provincial government was not the Charter, in its original integrity as an irrevocable act of royal prerogative, but that instrument, nominally, with such essential modifications and changes as the Parliament from time to time should, in the exercise of its omnipotent authority, see fit to enact.

The author makes no qualification of this supreme authority of Parliament. He leaves no room for the interposition of any barrier to its absolute despotism, — nothing, in short, to prevent it from decreeing the confiscation of the property of the colonists, and their decimation or total extinction. The existence of a colonial or provincial congress he considers plenary proof of its illegality, and argues that the people, when driven to the alternative of supine surrender of all political rights, or

of combining in some form for interchange of views and concert of action for the public good, were, in so combining, unquestionably bent on revolution, and deliberately committing an act of usurpation.

It is needless to say that this, the logic of the old Toryism, is as faulty, and ought to be as offensive, as its congener, the exploded doctrine of the divine right of kings. It is difficult to conceive how intelligent minds favorably interested in the progress of popular government can tolerate such notions, — notions that receive no support from the course of history, which is a constantly widening departure from the idea that in government, as well as in other affairs of life, man is inferior to his accidents, and that he can voluntarily bind himself to slavery or be bound to it by prescription. So often has the exigency been presented to them that it has become a sort of common law with Englishmen that upon sudden changes of dynasty or on occasion of interruptions of the regular succession of the Crown, by which the administration is forced into new channels, the orderly and proper mode of continuing government is, first, by the formation of a voluntary committee for public safety and for the conservation of the peace; next, by a popular convention; and finally, by the restoration, as far as practicable or desirable, of the system of government which pre-existed, but which had been interrupted by civil commotion. This is the story of the changes attending and following the Cromwellian civil war, and, both here and in England, of the revolution which ended in establishing the succession of the crown upon William and Mary. Even under monarchical government no other theory of political duty is conceivable that does not imply the possible advisability of total and abject surrender to tyranny; and in a republic the only alternative is manifestly mob-rule or military dictatorship.

The acts of Parliament professing to change the Province Charter, if they were operative, practically revolutionized the existing system of local government. This parliamentary "usurpation," though preceded by a train of what were regarded here as unconstitutional acts of interference by the ministry in the affairs of the province, was actually the beginning of the Revolution, and would have been instantly resented as a *casus belli*, had not a lingering hope remained that what Parliament had denied might yet be coaxed from, or vouch-

safed by, the king in the exercise of his prerogative. That this was a vain expectation was not so obvious then as it is now, notwithstanding the fact then known that the objectionable acts had been passed not only with the king's full and free concurrence, but at his suggestion.

The inhabitants of the province, in their attempts to extricate themselves from the predicament into which they were forced by the ministry and the Parliament, proceeded by the most cautious, wise, and deliberate steps to the ultimate result. That this course involved bloodshed was not unexpected, but not their fault. They took up arms against unconstitutional acts of Parliament under a weightier law. With them, as with all other patriots who have contributed to the glory of the English race, fealty to the constitution was the paramount duty. The precise limits of the English Constitution have never been defined. Of that variable and expanding entity, however, it may be said there are some grand and admirable features that are fundamental and constant, — chief among which is the guaranty of the life, liberties, and property of the individual citizen. That this is the supreme underlying purpose of government will probably not be denied to-day by the most zealous defender of prerogative, nor the most pertinacious stickler for parliamentary supremacy. Tory and Liberal alike applaud Pitt's glowing picture of the sacredness of the poorest man's cottage from royal invasion, — a picture which is a mockery and a fraud, if the right it extols can be taken away by Parliament. It behooves the apologist for the American Loyalists, therefore, to show some consistent and philosophical reason why the same privilege does not extend to other property of the subject, and to his enjoyment of other liberties than the exclusive freedom of his homestead. The American patriots understood the Constitution of England as it was understood by Coke and Milton, Hobart and Locke, Holt, Camden, and Pitt, and it is far more fitting that our historical scholars labor to expound and defend the doctrines of such teachers than that they attempt to uphold the waning cause of Toryism by writing essays calculated for the atmosphere of the Westminster and St. James of a century and a half ago.

Mr. WINSOR then gave an interesting extemporaneous summary of the following paper, which he said would occupy too much time if he were to read it in full: —

Baptista Agnese and American Cartography in the Sixteenth Century.

So far as I know, there are but two of the Italian portolanos of Agnese's time in American libraries, and both of these are in the Carter-Brown Collection at Providence. They have been acquired of late years. One is undoubtedly by Agnese. It is the most beautiful of his works, and well known in the history of cartography. The other is a work which in execution bears in parts a strong resemblance to his recognized productions. It represents, however, within the same covers on some sheets the well-known views of Agnese as to the configuration of the New World, but on others the conjectures of a rival school, which made North America an easterly extension of Asia. This is a peculiarity which militates against the atlas being in all parts the work of Agnese, unless we accept the belief of Kretschmer, who avers that Agnese latterly became a convert to this Asiatic theory, as shown in a world map in the National Library at Naples, and which with no hesitation he ascribes to Agnese. He gives a sketch of it (Atlas, XVIII. No. 5) which closely resembles a map in gores in the Carter-Brown atlas.

Neither of these atlases at Providence is dated; nor are they signed. It is more difficult to determine the period of Agnese's undated work than that of almost any other map-maker of the sixteenth century, for the reason that he was inclined to cling to favorite geographical conceptions long after they were thrown in doubt by newer discoveries. He is generally thought to have expended more care upon the appearance of his maps than upon securing correspondence in them to the latest views. These divergences are of course most apparent in the American parts of his atlases, as it was a period necessarily of constant change in the geographical conceptions of the New World.

Of no other cartographer of that time have so many specimens of work come down to us, and it is by no means certain that the catalogue of Agnese's productions is yet complete. His method of signing his maps was in these words, or in some slight variation of the legend: "Baptista Agnese, Januensis, fecit Venetiis," to which the year and sometimes the month and day were occasionally added. By his own profession, therefore, he was a Genoese, working at Venice. In that

city he labored for about thirty years, turning out atlases, which usually have from ten to fifteen plates, but in a few instances show more than double that number. These atlases commonly have a world map of an elliptical shape, and almost invariably on that particular map he marks three or more great ocean routes by silvered or pricked lines. One of these is the route, as followed by Magellan's ship, to the Moluccas, and its return by the Cape of Good Hope. Another is to the Isthmus of Panama, and down the South American coast to Peru. His earlier maps also, where the Sea of Verrazano is recognized, show a track, called that of the French, to an isthmus midway along the Atlantic coast of North America, and continued beyond across the Pacific towards India. The presence of these tracks on a map having other of Agnese's characteristics is a pretty sure sign of his authorship.

What we know of Agnese's career is almost wholly derived from his works; and at least half of these, as we recognize them, are anonymous and undated. There has been some difference of opinion as to the length of his cartographical service. Wieser and Kretschmer assign to him atlases in the British Museum of as early dates as 1527 and 1529. Kohl puts his earliest work in 1530. Harrisse starts his career with a group of portolanos known to have been made in 1536. Kohl does not trace him beyond 1545. Harrisse and Kretschmer find his latest work to be in 1564. It is significant of his want of care in registering the progress of geographical knowledge, that in this atlas of 1564, which is preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice, the Chilean coast is still undefined, though it had been known in Europe to have been tracked nearly thirty years. Cartier had established the insularity of Newfoundland at about the same time, and still in 1564 Agnese does not recognize its island character.

Professor Fischer, of Kiel, in 1885 counted twelve of Agnese's atlases, of which he had knowledge; and the editor of the Catalogue of the Geographical Exhibit in London in 1895 gave the number as thirteen. Both of these probably referred to Agnese's indubitable and signed atlases. Harrisse, who in his French book on the Cabots first reckoned their number, revised his count in his "Discovery of North America," and enumerates twenty-one which are dated, and eighteen

which are without year, making thirty-nine in all. Kretschmer, who is the latest enumerator, gives twenty-seven dated, and an equal number undated, or fifty-four in all. He claims to have added to earlier enumerations, two with dates, one of June 8, 1542, in the Vatican, and another of September 1, 1543, in the Museo Civico at Venice. In addition he joins to the undated list six others, of which two are in the National Library at Naples, two in the Royal Library at Berlin, and one each in the Museo Civico at Venice and in the University Library at Bologna. It is fair to say that Ruge, who touches the subject in his "*Kartographie von America*," does not accept the authenticity of all of Kretschmer's newer specimens. Bellio, in a section on cartography in the great Italian work commemorative of Columbus, describes ten of those preserved in Italy.

There exists more or less uncertainty in determining the genuineness of the undated atlases, because of the productions of imitators of Agnese's work, though those of inferior skill in artistic handling are easily discarded. In the "*Catalogue des documents géographiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*," which were exhibited in Paris in 1892, No. 154 is called "*Contrefaçon des Atlas de Baptista Agnese*."

Though Agnese was conspicuous for his conservative habit in geographical views, there are a few marked stages in his professional progress, and it is to show these, as well as his neglect of opportunities for better knowledge, that it may be worth while now to follow his thirty-odd years of work.

Harrisse does not apparently accept the views of Fischer, Weiser, and Kretschmer regarding the atlases ascribed to the years 1527 and 1529, though they seem to be accepted by Canale in his "*Storia del Commercio*" (Geneva, 1886), and are chronicled by Amat and Uzielli in their "*Studi della società geografica Italiana*" (Roma, 1882).

These dates, 1527 and 1529, correspond curiously to those of the two great Borgian maps of the New World, which Kohl has illustrated in his "*Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von America*," and which in the best opinions are the work of the Spanish Royal hydrographer, Ribero. They are important as giving emphasis to a type of the American coasts which influenced Agnese and was followed for many years by the best contemporary map-makers. Up to the time of Ribero, the contour of South America had been rounded

out hypothetically, in distinct resemblance to its actual shape ; and this cartographical surmise is shown in nearly all the geographical notions which were entertained in American cartography, subsequent to the discovery of the South Sea by Balboa. One effect of that discovery, with the observed trend of the South American coast on the Pacific side, was to implant confidence in the separate continental bulk of that part of the New World, long before Magellan proved it. This we see in the globes of Schöner in 1515 and 1520, in the Hauslab globe, in the Lenox globe, and in the Green globe, — a recent discovery. The same confidence is expressed in the gores (for a globe) which pass under the names of Da Vinci, Boulenger, and Nordenskiöld ; and the same features are portrayed in the well-known maps of Stobnicza, Apian, Verrazano, Maiollo, and Thorne.

It is still the fact that after Ribero had given the stamp of the Spanish hydrographic office to a western coast of South America, which showed no defined shore line between upper Peru and lower Patagonia, most of the unofficial maps continued to offer an unbroken coast along southern Peru and Chili. This is the case with the Nancy and De Bure (gilt) globes, with the well-known Turin atlas, with both the single and double heart maps of Finæus, and with the curious olive-jar outline of South America given in the map which Münster furnished to Grynnæus in 1532, and which is repeated in Vadianus two years later.

In the interval between Ribero (1527, 1529) and Agnese's accepted popularity (1536), there had grown up a reaction from the original conception of America which Columbus had advanced in making it an eastern extension of Asia. It is now well established that these views of the admiral did not meet universal approval in the beginning, and within three or four years last passed it has been rendered certain that, after the experiences of his latest voyage, Columbus himself rejected them, and believed that a sea lay beyond Central America and between it and India. This evidence we find in the map which Bartholomew Columbus carried to Rome, and which Professor Wieser, of Innsbruck, discovered in Florence in 1892. The maps, then, after about 1510, and for fifteen years following, represent, except when the issue was avoided, as it sometimes was, a configuration of North America entirely distinct

from Asia. This is shown in a marked way in a Portuguese chart preserved at Munich, which gives an unmistakably Asiatic and American shore to the North Pacific in 1513; and the same views are presented in the Green and Hauslab globes, the Boulenger and Nordenskiöld gores, and in the remarkable Stobnicza map, made in Warsaw.

The work of the globe-maker Schöner is particularly interesting in this respect. In his globes of 1515 and 1520 he had conformed to the reactionary view which Bartholomew Columbus had set the example for after the last voyage of his brother. He made a globe, which is not now known, in which he went back to the original views of Columbus, and made Asia and North America one and the same. He was induced to make this change of opinion from finding that Magellan had not discovered any continental land farther south. He may also have reasoned from Cortes' extravagant stories of Mexican life, which others than Schöner associated with the barbaric splendors of Asia. Schöner continued to hold these newer views in 1533, when he made another globe, which has come down to us. In the year (1526) following that in which the missing globe of Schöner was made, these same current Mexican stories are known to have induced Franciscus Monachus to place a map in his "*De orbis situ*" (Antwerp), which remains the earliest engraved cartographical delineation which we actually have, of this same theory, which Schöner had adopted, though Ayllon in 1520 had indicated it by placing elephants and other Asiatic emblems on the Carolina coast. Within the next ten years, beside the lost Schöner globe, we count several other specimen maps offering the same characteristics. These are the De Bure globe in the great library at Paris, of copper-gilt, with Latin legends, and perhaps of German origin, and apparently to be assigned to 1528 or thereabouts; the Sloane manuscript map, in the British Museum, of about 1530; the double cordiform map of Orontius Finæus of 1531; the wooden globe of 1535, also in the Paris library,—still another recent discovery (1881), and the long-known Nancy globe of the same date.

Besides these two theories of the North American contour which Agnese had to decide between in 1536, there was a current conception which had sprung from Verrazano's voyage in 1524, and which had received illustration in the map made

by his brother, and now in the Propaganda at Rome. It had been further exemplified in a Maiollo map (1527) now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Further than this the views about the west coast of South America which Ribero, in 1527, had accepted, in leaving a long gap, where we now place the Chilean shore, had earlier been presented in a planisphere, now in the Royal Library at Turin, and are likewise shown in the Castiglioni map at Mantua (1525), which has recently been made generally known in the great collection of documents published by the Italian Government in recognition of the Columbian anniversary.

These, then, were the views, more or less conflicting, which Agnese dealt with in his own way, when in 1536 he made that group of atlases which constitute the real beginning of the Agnesian cartography. They show that he gave to North America an elongated shape, compressed midway like the nipping of an hour-glass, in recognition of the Verrazano theory, but which he lived to discard. For South America he accepted the Ribero type. Except for the discarding of the Verrazano Sea, he made in the maps that are universally conceded to be his, little change during his whole career down to 1564, in his continental outline, except that he extended his coast line somewhat farther north on the west shore of Mexico, and farther down towards Peru on the South American side. In this judgment we throw out the Bologna atlas, which Kretschmer assigns to Agnese.

There are seven specimens still remaining of the Agnese atlases of this early date (1536), and we name them briefly:—

1536, March 10. Not signed. Discovered in Padua in 1881, and now in the Correr Museum at Venice.

1536. Not signed. Kohl thought it either by Agnese or Homem; but it is now generally accounted the work of the former. It is in the Bodleian Library.

1536, October 13. Signed. Has eleven maps. In the British Museum.

1536. Æquinoctialis. Has nine maps. In the Biblioteca Trivulziana at Milan.

1536. Formerly of the Guyon de Sardières collection (No. 1912), and later in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham, England.

1536. Not signed. Has twelve leaves. In the Royal Library at Dresden. Kohl made a comparison of it with that in the British Museum, and found it much the same.

1536. Not signed. Has only three maps. In the Barberiana at Rome.

Besides these atlases, there is a single world-map by Agnese in the British Museum, which is signed. Kretschmer swells the number of these 1536 atlases to eight by including this single map.

For an interval now of six or seven years, down to 1542, we have no dated atlas of Agnese. During this period, though Finæus reproduced his views of the Asiatic connection of North America in his mappamundi (1536) of the single-heart projection, that theory continued to be in lesser vogue, but in the end died slowly, lasting with some vitality well on to the end of the century. The signal appearance of Mercator forced a counter action, and in his map of 1538 he completely dis severed North America from Asia. He advanced upon the Ribero plan of neglecting the Chilean coast, and boldly drew it in; but allowed it to be a "littora incognita." He so far availed of Cartier's discoveries as to indicate the land about the Gulf of St. Lawrence as broken into islands, — the beginning of an insular Newfoundland in the great map-makers, and a recognition of the separate existence of that earliest English colony, which Agnese in his undoubted maps never reached. The way with which the map-makers now treated this northern region, which ever since Cabot's day had been well known to the fishermen of northern Europe, and of which Cartier had recently proved the insularity, is indicative of the varying impression which the explorers' stories had upon different minds. The maps in the Ptolemy, of 1540, give it a distinct insular independence, while the maps of Homem, a Portuguese cartographer now coming on the stage, treat it as Agnese always did. The Nuremberg gores of about the same date (say 1540) which Stevens undertook to show stood for the missing globe of Schöner of 1523, but which Harisse and Nordenskiöld put at a much later date, is equally indistinct in the Newfoundland region. So is the Turin atlas, the globe of Ulpius (1542), and the map of Alonso de Santa Cruz (1542). On the contrary, we have a

developed Newfoundland in the Mercator gores (1541), which were discovered some years ago in Brussels; in the maps by Desliens (1541) and Vopellio (1542-1543).

The only change shown by Agnese in this second group of his atlases, covering 1542-1546, is a tendency, not always marked, to depart from the theory of the Verrazano sea, occasioning a fuller sweep to the shading off of the western coast of North America, much as is also shown in the world map of Antonius Florianus of about this date.

Kretschmer claims to have added the earliest of this group to the hitherto known atlases of Agnese, in one which he discovered in the Vatican Library, dated *June 8, 1542*.

Another, of thirteen maps, signed, and preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, is dated *February 12, 1543*, and is said to have belonged to the Medici family.

The Alfred Huth Collection in London has another signed atlas dated a week later, *February 18, 1543*.

Another, also signed, and of the same date, *1543*, is preserved in the library of the Duke of Coburg-Gotha. Kohl, who copied this for his collection, now at Washington, compared it with the Huth atlas, and found the two identical. Kretschmer seems in error in assigning it to 1546. Ruge gives it 1543.

One, dated *June 25, 1543*, was exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in the Columbian Year, and has twelve maps (No. 187 of the Catalogue).

A signed atlas, of twelve maps, dated *1544, February 5*, is in the Royal Library at Dresden.

One of fifteen leaves, signed, and dated *May 8, 1545*, was brought to the notice of scholars in the "Mittheilungen d. K. K. Geog. Gesellschaft in Wien" in 1862, and is now in the Marciana in Venice.

Of this group of seven I have examined most carefully that in the Laurentian Library, and I suspect it is a fair type of the others. There are three of the maps which give America. The first of these is the usual world-map, with the hour-glass contour for the continent, the Pacific coast extending from the Gulf of California to Chili, with a bit adjacent to the Straits of Magellan. It has the usual ocean track of Magellan. The second map is much the same for the Pacific coast lying over against the Asiatic shore. The third gives the two Americas;

but it more closely resembles the Ribero model, and indicates the north and south entrances to the Gulf of St. Lawrence without developing the west coast of Newfoundland.

Closely resembling this Laurentian atlas is the one without signature or date, and already referred to as being at Providence. Major and Wieser ascribed it to Agnese, when it was in the Spitzer Collection, and it so closely resembles Agnese's work that there is no doubt expressed on the point by the later writers on the subject. Spitzer and Wiener, who edited the photographic reproduction of it in 1875, undertook to argue from the facts of Valdivia's particularly developing the Chili coast in 1540, and because the atlas showed no recognition of it, that it must be assigned to 1539. But these critics showed little familiarity with a not unusual ignorance or disregard of such matters in cartographers of that time, and better informed examiners have put the atlas at later date. Harrisse thinks it safe to place it under 1542; Fischer, Wieser, and Kretschmer say 1548; and Ruge prefers 1550. That it was made in the formative years of the Dauphin, Philip II., appears from the dedication which it bears of Charles V. to his son, who was born in 1527. That it is of Italian origin seems clear from the use of that language in its legends; and from its close resemblance to the signed work of Agnese, there can be little doubt that this cartographer made it. It has been discussed by a larger number of critics than any other, — by Chavanne, Malte-Brun, Steinhauser, Kohl, Ruge, Kretschmer, Harrisse, and others.

While Agnese was at work upon this middle group of his atlases, Sebastian Cabot was using available material (1544) in developing the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, and from current knowledge putting into completed shape the South American outline. Gastaldi, another Italian, was doing the same in the Lafreri atlas (1546) and in his *Carta Marina* in the Ptolemy of 1548. The map which is associated with the name of Henri II. of France (1546), that of Friere (1546), and one by Nicolas Vallard (1547) all show the influence of Cartier and the later discoveries. The engraved map in the Spanish seamanual of Medina was equally significant of exploration on the South American shores. But Agnese as studiously avoided them as he had done in the past.

The third and latest group of the Agnese portolanos was produced in the last decade of his active career, beginning in 1553. Those of this period which are dated are as follows:

1553, September 1. In the Museo Civico at Venice. I think Kretschmer is the first to note it.

1553, September 10. This is signed, and is one of the most extensive of Agnese's atlases, having thirty-two maps. It is, or was, in the possession of Count Dona at Venice.

1554, July 15. Signed. It was named in 1818 by Zurla in the appendix of his "Marco Polo," as being in a private library in Italy. The modern enumerators include it in their lists; but I have found no recent reference to its present ownership.

1554, October 20. This is more extensive even than the Dona atlas, and has thirty-six maps. It is signed, and is preserved in the Marciana at Venice. It has become well known because it has been edited by Professor Theobald Fischer, of Kiel, in a series of photographic reproductions of old maps, published by Ongania in Venice, this one having been produced in 1881. The American maps of this atlas are about ten years behind the known conditions. The west coast runs up as high as the Gulf of California, and with the discarding of the notion of the Sea of Verrazano, the continent is given a broader expanse. Newfoundland is still a part of the mainland. The legends of the maps are mostly in Latin, though some are in Italian. Though at the present time there are Agnese atlases known to have a date ten years later, Fischer, no longer ago than 1886, thought this one of 1554 the last work of its author. This, with the Philip II. atlas, both having been reproduced, are naturally the best known of all.

1554. Kretschmer makes this one without date, though Ruge and HARRISSE give 1554. It has sixteen maps, and belongs to the Collection of Count Giovanni Battista Giustiniani in Venice.

1555. Cited in the Catalogue (No. 2067) of the Labanoff Collection, dispersed in Paris in 1823; but I have not traced it since.

1559. Signed in Spanish, at Venice; and said to be in the Collection of Perez Junquera at Madrid.

1562, February 4. Said by Kretschmer to be in the University Library at Catania.

1564, May 25. Signed. Eight maps. In the British Museum.

1564. Matkovic, in his "Alte Handschriftliche Schiffer-Karten," gives it as being in the Marciana at Venice, but Harrissee questions it.

During these ten years we find in Ramusio (1556), in the atlas in the Riccardiana Palace, in Homem (1558), in Martines (1558), and in Gutierrez (1562), not to name others, something like an even pace kept with advancing knowledge ; but we must continue to record the failure of such progress in a remarkable degree with Agnese, as long as he worked.

These atlases, we have seen, thus fall easily into three groups, marked by the dates, 1536, 1542-1546, and 1553-1564. It is probable that the vacant intervals which these dates disclose were filled more or less by the production of those other atlases of the Agnese type which have come down to us without date. Besides one of these already described as in the Carter-Brown Library, there are various others, of somewhat uncertain number, as opinions vary in some cases about the Agnese origin. Ruge enumerates fourteen such, and Harrissee twenty-one. Kretschmer gives twenty-seven, of which he claims to have added, as already stated, six to previous lists. This supplemental group of Agnese atlases consists of the following : —

Paris. National Library. Ten double maps.

Montpellier, France. Library of the Faculty of Medicine in the University.

Stockholm, Sweden. Formerly belonging to Charles XV. of Sweden, now in the Royal Library. Nordenskiöld describes it as of small size, beautifully executed. He says that this atlas and one in his own possession are the only specimens of sixteenth-century atlases in Sweden.

Turin, Italy. Royal Library. It has fifteen leaves, small octavo. Wuttke describes it in the "Jahrbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde." Dresden, 1873. Plate VII.

Florence, Italy. National Library.

Rome, Italy. Biblioteca Barberiniana. Originally made for Henry VIII. of England.

Rome, Italy. In the Library of the Propaganda. Thomasey, in his "Les Papes géographes," p. 133, describes it as having fourteen maps.

Bologna, Italy. University Library. The American portions are reproduced in Kretschmer's Atlas, Plate XXIII.-XXVI.

Munich, Bavaria. Royal Library. Ten maps. Peschel describes it in the "Elfter Jahresbericht, Gesell. für Erdkunde," Leipsic, 1872; and Kunstmann's Atlas, Nos. VI. and VII., reproduces the American parts.

Wolfenbüttel, Germany. Ducal Library. Fourteen maps.

Dresden, Saxony. Royal Library.

Vienna, Austria. Royal Library. It is signed and dated February 15, but without year.

Naples, Italy. National Library. It is figured in Kretschmer's Atlas, XVIII. 5.

Glasgow, Scotland. University Library. Its Agnese origin is disputed.

There are four others known to be in private hands:—

London. Fourteen maps. H. Y. Thompson.

Vienna. Twelve maps. Emperor of Austria.

Paris. Edmond de Rothschild. It has nine very small maps.

Dijon, France. Library of Count Malartic. Gaffarel, in the "Mémoires de la Société Bourguignonne de Géographie" (1889), places it under 1534.

In conclusion we pass to the consideration of that other sixteenth-century atlas in the Carter-Brown Collection. If Kretschmer is right in supposing that the Naples map which he figures (Plate XVIII.), and which shows the Asiatic connection of North America, is by Agnese, the same characteristics and a corresponding skill in workmanship in parts of this Providence atlas serve to confirm the belief that this is also an Agnese work, and that Agnese latterly became a convert to the views of Schöner and Finæus, or at least was willing to offer them as an alternative theory.

Quaritch in 1885 (No. 362 catalogue, 28,159) offered for £50 an Italian portolano of the sixteenth century, containing twenty-eight maps in vellum, drawn in colors and brightened with gold. The atlas was without name or date, supposed to be of about 1550, and was "perhaps by Agnese." From Quaritch's hands it passed to the Carter-Brown Collection. Of its maps, five showed the Western Hemisphere. Of these, two are of somewhat different workmanship from the others, and

are drawn on the Asiatic theory. Were it not that in the ornamental borders these maps conform to the others which do not show that theory, there might be a suspicion that they had been merely intercalated in binding.

It helps us in deciding upon the date of the atlas, and also in determining that the maps of both theories are of a like origin, that in each, and lying north of the Gulf of California, the seven cities of Cibola are indicated in a similar manner. Coronado had made his visit to this point in 1540, so that this atlas could not be of a period anterior, say, to 1542, and at that time the engraved map of Finæus, advocating the Asiatic theory, had been for ten years before the world. The Chilean coast is in both theories characterized by the same absence of definite contour. Though better informed cartographers had profited by Valdivia's detailed information, it saves not a little of the discredit to the maker of these maps, that Mercator and Cabot, at a still later day, were not much better informed, and that another Italian, Ruscelli, so late as 1561, clung to the dotted line in this region.

Ulloa had found the water east of the California peninsula to be a gulf in 1539, and the full development of that bay in the Carter-Brown atlas is another proof that its date must at least be fixed as late as the second Agnese group of atlases.

There is another indication to establish such a date. Orellana's coursing down the Amazon took place in 1540, and we do not find his results in any printed map till those of Cabot (1544) and Medina (1545). Before this, the drainage system of the South American continent had been imagined to be a river rising, say, in northern Patagonia, and flowing into the Atlantic through the Amazon estuary, which for a long time had been known to receive a great river. This mock Amazon, as we may call it, served to constitute the great continental basin in cartographical conception, even ten years later than Orellana's exploit, as is shown in the maps of Bellerio, Ramusio, and Vopellio. This supposed river is also a feature in the Carter-Brown atlas, and perhaps it is some indication of a nearly exact date, that known maps of 1542, like that in Rotz's "Idrography," connect, as our present example does, the mock Amazon with the La Plata, and make an island of eastern Brazil.

The peninsula of Yucatan is in all five of these American

maps treated as an island. The earliest explorers, like Cortes and Pinedo, were at variance on this point, Cortes imagining it an island and Pinedo connecting it with the main. The effect of Mercator's making it (1541) a decided peninsula, after a somewhat doubtful earlier effort on his part in 1538, was to establish a general belief in its decided connection with the continent. That the maker of the Carter-Brown maps did not accept this view, is only another instance of his slowness of decision.

If this map-maker was Agnese, and we compare this work with such a dated and authenticated Agnese as that of 1543, in the Laurentian library, we are again disturbed to find in the Laurentian maps the lingering depression of the Verrazano Sea, and no sign of it in the Carter-Brown atlas, which for other geographical evidence would appear to be of even date.

It seems, therefore, that the reasons for assigning this work to Agnese himself are not conclusive, though the atlas shows something, doubtless, of his influence and habits. The production which it most clearly resembles, especially in the maps of the Asiatic connection, is the atlas in the Biblioteca Riccardiana (Florence), which Wuttke described in 1870 in the Dresden Geographical Society's Annual, and which he there placed about 1550, and conjectured to be the work of Marco Francisco Gisolfo. The inferior workmanship of the maps of the Asiatic connection in the Carter-Brown atlas correspond more nearly to the style of this Florentine atlas, and suggest the composite character of the former, notwithstanding the uniform border-work which runs through all the sheets, even if we allow the other maps to be by Agnese.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, BARRETT WENDELL, WILLIAM R. THAYER, A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, HENRY W. HAYNES, G. STANLEY HALL, EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE.

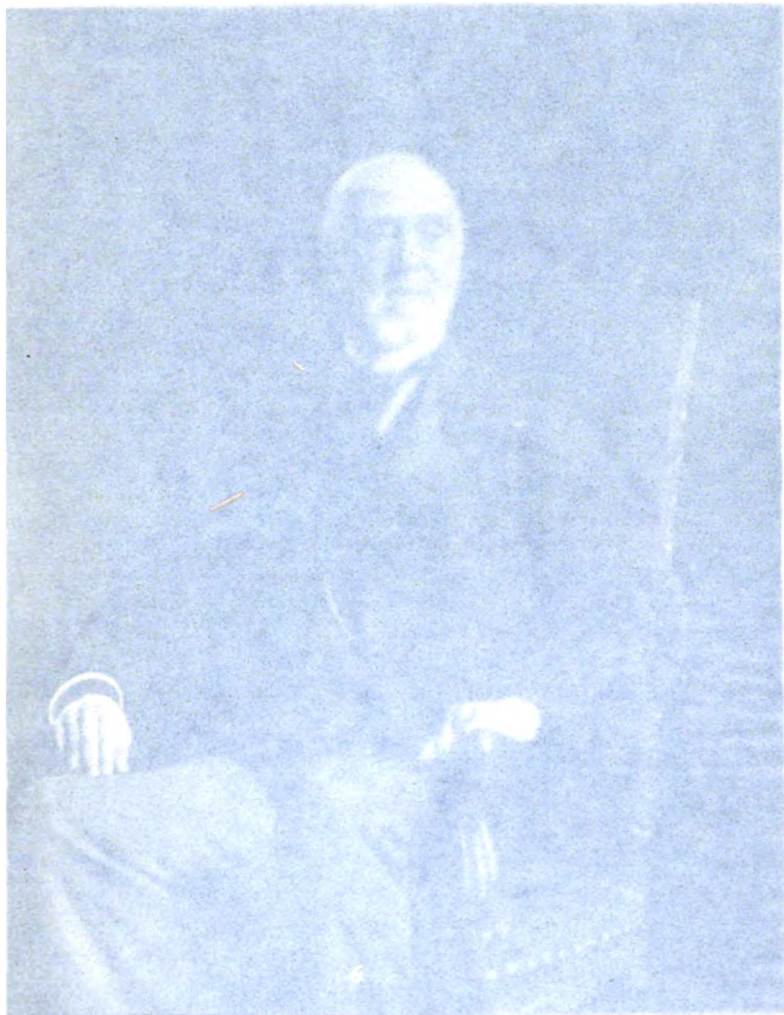
MEMOIR
OF
HENRY LILLIE PIERCE.

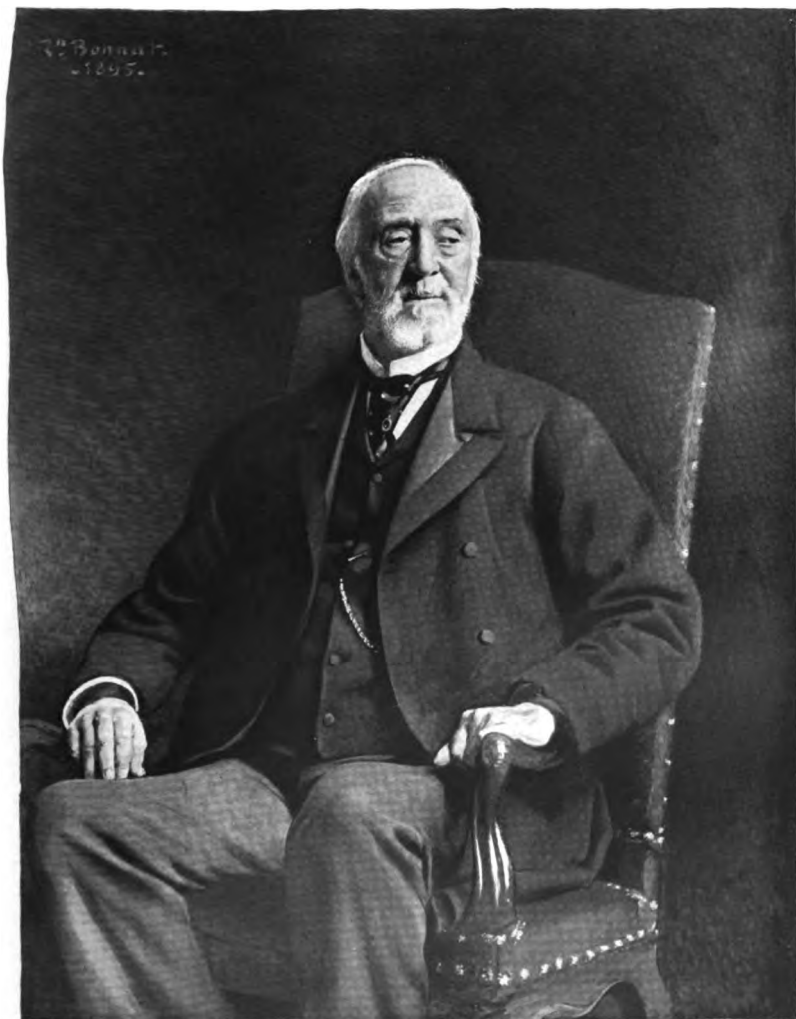
BY JAMES M. BUGBEE.

THE name Pierce, or Peirce, one of the many variations from the original name of Peter, was borne by a number of persons in England in the seventeenth century who achieved sufficient distinction to secure a place in the Dictionary of National Biography. In the lists of emigrants to America, between 1620 and 1700, are to be found many representatives of the name, most of them evidently of the lower middle class. Among them was one who signed his name "John Pers,"¹ of Norwich, Norfolk County, a weaver, aged forty-nine years, who, with his wife, four children, and a man-servant, reported for examination April 8, 1637, as "desirous to passe to Boston, in New England, to inhabitt." He settled in Watertown, where a lot of land was granted him, and was admitted a freeman in March, 1638-9. He subsequently purchased several lots of land in Watertown and Lancaster, and is referred to by a local historian as a man of "very good estate."

His eldest son, Anthony, from whom the subject of this notice descended, came to this country some years before his father, although his name does not appear on any of the English lists of emigrants. He was admitted a freeman September 3, 1634; and on his death, in 1678, he left a prosperous family, whose descendants, mostly small farmers, settled in

¹ In the early records of the colony the name was spelled Perce, Pearse, Peerce, Peers. The usual pronunciation in New England of the name borne by the descendants of John Pers (now generally spelled either Peirce, Pierce, or Pearce) is like *purse*. The verb *pierce* appears to have been generally so pronounced previous to the present century. Milton rhymes it with *verse*. It is not unusual at this day to hear old-fashioned country people pronounce it in that way.





Henry L. Pierce



the towns near Boston. John Pierce, a great-grandson of Anthony, bought land in Stoughton (now a part of Canton) in 1731, and subsequently settled there. His great-grandson, Col. Jesse Pierce, the father of Henry, was born there November 7, 1788.¹

Colonel Pierce was a man of higher parts than his forebears, and might well be taken as a type of the builders of New England. He received a better education than usually fell to the lot of the sons of small farmers in those days. He began to teach school at the age of nineteen, and pursued that vocation for over twenty years, first in the public schools of Norfolk County, and later as the head of private schools in Milton and Stoughton. He took an active part in town affairs. In the militia service he passed through all the grades from ensign to colonel. He served six years as Representative to the General Court, 1832-36 and 1840. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was Speaker of the House in 1840, recalled him many years later as "a most intelligent and estimable person." He was a member of the Democratic party until 1848, when he joined the Free Soil party; but his sympathies with the anti-slavery movement led him to repudiate the nomination of Polk for the Presidency in 1844, and to cast his vote for James G. Birney. In 1824 he married Elizabeth Smith Lillie, daughter of Capt. John Lillie, who served with distinction in the War of the Revolution. The Lillies were connected by marriage with some of the best families in New England.²

After his marriage Colonel Pierce became owner of a farm in the western part of Stoughton (on the Bay Road, running from Dorchester to Taunton), which had formerly belonged to his maternal uncle Lemuel Smith, and there, on the 23d of August, 1825, Henry Lillie Pierce was born. From his parents he inherited traits of a diverse character. His father, like most New Englanders who belonged to the Methodist church, took life very seriously. He was a man of the highest integrity, conscientious to a painful degree, undemonstrative, and of a sensitive disposition. The mother was a woman of great force of character, plain-spoken, of strong prejudices,

¹ A biographical sketch of Col. Jesse Pierce, written by his son, Hon. Edward L. Pierce, will be found in the *Pierce Genealogy*, p. 159.

² See monograph on Capt. John Lillie by Edward L. Pierce.

and doubtless took some inward pride in the fact that she was of good family, that her father had served as a trusted officer under Washington and Lafayette, and had been handsomely complimented by them on their retirement from the army.¹

Henry's environment in his youth could hardly be described as a cheerful one; but it was probably less narrow and grim than in most New England country homes of that time, in which the literature for the young was restricted almost wholly to the New England Primer and the Assembly's Catechism. He attended the town school first, and then, for a short time, the Dorchester Academy; but the instruction he received at home from his father, an experienced teacher, formed the most substantial basis for his future development. As a youth, his brother says, he was full of vitality, high spirits, playfulness, — always good company.

In the summer of 1840 he was in the Milton Academy, having as a schoolmate George Heywood, of Concord, for whom he ever after retained a warm feeling of regard. In 1841-2 he attended the Academy in Bridgewater for a short time, and in the autumn of 1842 entered the Normal School at that place, then in charge of Nicholas Tillinghast, a graduate of West Point, who was somewhat stiff and formal in his manner, but a master of the studies he taught, clear-headed, and sincere.

Henry was seventeen years old at this time, a tall, awkward, diffident, and sensitive youth, whose knowledge of the world was limited to an occasional trip to Boston with his father, a glimpse of the General Court, and a dinner at the Lamb Tavern. He was already beginning to have his own ideas of men and affairs, some of which found expression in contributions to the county paper for which his father subscribed.

In March, 1843, after being connected with the school about eight months, he was obliged to leave on account of a severe illness from which he never fully recovered. He made a trip to Niagara and Toronto in the summer of 1843; and in De-

¹ Washington gave a certificate to Lillie, dated December 1, 1783, in which, after enumerating the captain's military services, he said: "In all which several stations and capacities I do hereby further certify and make it known that the aforesaid Captain Lillie has conducted himself on all occasions with dignity, bravery, and intelligence."

Lafayette, with whom he served at Monmouth and Brandywine, gave him a sword which is now in the possession of his grandson Edward L. Pierce.

cember following went back to the Normal School. But his health gave way in a few weeks, and he was obliged to return home. He appears to have been in the school again for about three months in the winter of 1844-45; and with that his schooling ended. It was a slender equipment for anything more than an ordinary business life. He wished to fit himself for college at this time, but persistent ill-health compelled him to abandon the idea. With a higher education, unless counter-acting influences had been brought into play, he might have gone far. He had a real fondness for good literature; and he lost no opportunity to hear the best speakers of his time on political or educational subjects. He often spoke, in later years, of the delight with which he listened to a two hours' speech by John Quincy Adams, in October, 1843.

Although he spent less than a year altogether in the Normal School, he was a diligent student while there, and his mind received a stimulus which was of immense value to him. For the principal, Tillinghast, he retained ever after a feeling of respect and affection such as Burke had for the Quaker teacher under whom he studied two years at Ballitore.

Henry spent most of his time at home during the next two or three years (1845-48), doing light farm work. In 1846 his father took him to the Saratoga Springs to see if the waters would not help him; but soon after he arrived there he was stricken with typhoid fever and came near dying. When he recovered sufficiently, he was taken down the Hudson River to New York and thence by boat to Providence.

In 1848 he served as a member of the School Committee of Stoughton. In the presidential election of that year, the first in which he was qualified to vote for the head of the government, he worked with great energy and enthusiasm for the Free Soil candidates, Van Buren and Adams, and did more, it is said, than any other citizen to give the lead to them in his town.

In 1849 the Pierce family removed from Stoughton to Dorchester, and Henry secured employment soon after in the chocolate mill owned by his mother's half-brother, Walter Baker.¹ He received about three dollars a week for his ser-

¹ Major John Lillie's widow married, October 5, 1803, Edmund Baker, a chocolate manufacturer, who had succeeded his father, Dr. James Baker, the founder, in 1780, of the Baker chocolate establishment. Walter Baker was a son of Edmund by his first marriage.

vices. His political opinions irritated his employer, who was a Webster Whig, and after a year's service, seeing no prospect of promotion, he gave up his place and determined to try his fortunes at the West. He got a letter of introduction to Mr. Cramer, the editor of a paper in Milwaukee, and tried to secure employment either as a sub-editor in a newspaper office or as a teacher in the public schools. He spent several months in visiting the straggling settlements in the Northwest which, forty years later, had become great cities; but he found no opening for such talent as he had to offer, and returned home discouraged. On the request of Mr. Baker's partner, Sidney B. Williams, he went back to the chocolate mill; and was soon after put in charge of the counting-room which had just been opened in Boston.

Walter Baker died in 1852, leaving the business, on certain conditions, to Mr. Williams. Mr. Pierce appears to have been better qualified to carry on the business than his employer, but although the management of it fell largely into his hands after Mr. Baker's death, he had to be content with a salary of \$800. Williams died of cholera, at Montreal, in 1854; and after a long negotiation, and with many doubts as to the wisdom of the step, the trustees of the Baker Estate leased the plant to Mr. Pierce for ten years, subject to a life interest for a certain amount, payable annually to Mr. Baker's widow. He was heavily handicapped at first, as he had to depend entirely on borrowed capital. But he prospered steadily from the start, and was able to pay off his obligations in a few years. The lease was renewed for terms of ten years until October 31, 1884, when, all claims under the Baker will having been satisfied, the entire property was conveyed by the trustees to Mr. Pierce.

The amount of business carried on at that time was comparatively small, but it was highly profitable for the capital employed. The factory was on the Dorchester side of the Neponset River, at a point known as the Lower Mills; and there, on the same spot, if not in the same building, the manufacture of chocolate was, it is said, begun for the first time in the then British provinces of North America. The story goes that in the year 1765 one John Hannan, an Irish immigrant, who had failed to get work and who was out of means, wandered into the rustic saw-mill, and represented that he had

learned in London the art of making a new kind of chocolate ; and that, if he could have a corner of the mill and a little water-power, he could build up a good business. He was given a place, and while he did not make a fortune he was not altogether unsuccessful. In 1780 the small plant which he had established fell into the hands of Dr. James Baker ; then, in the order of succession, it fell to his son Edmund Baker, his grandson Walter Baker, and his grandson's half-nephew (if the relationship may be so described) Henry L. Pierce.

Under the management of Mr. Pierce the business was developed to a remarkable extent. His visit to the Paris Exposition of 1867, where he had an opportunity to see the latest French machinery and the newest methods of treating the crude material, first gave him, perhaps, an adequate idea of the market which might be opened up for his manufactures in this country. He began soon after to enlarge his factory, introduce foreign machinery, and manufacture a greater variety of cocoa and chocolate preparations. The increase of business led to an increase of competition, foreign and domestic, which was often unfair and unscrupulous. The struggle to maintain his supremacy in the markets of this country called out all his resources. At the end of forty-two years (1854-96), he left it the largest business of the kind on this continent, — the annual sales being more than forty times larger than when he took it. He never failed ; he was never involved in financial difficulties ; he never had any trouble with his employees, who were always well treated, promptly paid, and thoroughly loyal to their employer. He asked no favors of the government in the shape of protective duties. The crude cocoa used in his manufactures has always been admitted free of duty, as it did not come in competition with anything that could be raised in this country ; but a small duty was put upon the manufactured products which was about equivalent to the duty the domestic manufacturer had to pay on the machinery, the tin plate, and the sugar he was obliged to use.

He always took the ground that, if he could have all the materials used in the manufacture of his goods free of duty, he could, by his improved methods, the more intelligent application of the labor of his employees, and the proximity of the market to be supplied, compete successfully with the foreign manufacturers while paying a much higher per diem

rate of wages. Of his general views on the tariff question something will be said further on.

As already stated, Mr. Pierce had begun to talk and write on political questions long before he was qualified to vote. The annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and the discussion of the Fugitive Slave Law made him a hot and hearty supporter of the most uncompromising element in the Free Soil organization out of which the Republican party was evolved. His sympathies were more with the Abolitionists than with the pro-slavery Whigs and Democrats; but he never identified himself with those who were ready to resort to unconstitutional methods in resisting the encroachments of the slave power. When Webster spoke in front of the Revere House, on his first return from Washington after the 7th of March speech, Mr. Pierce was one of those who greeted him with hisses. Speaking of it many years afterwards, he expressed his regret for having done such a thing; and it is mentioned here simply as showing the temper of his mind at the time. He did not regret having aided and abetted, to a certain extent, the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns four years later.

He had become quite intimate at this time, both socially and politically, with Hon. Francis W. Bird, one of the most interesting characters in the political history of the State; a man of strong and active mind, who exerted a powerful influence over those with whom he came in contact; a terror to trimmers and time-servers, and an ardent supporter of every honest movement for reform. He also became intimate then, or shortly after, with William S. Robinson, better known as "Warrington," the Boston correspondent of the "Springfield Republican." Robinson's views on the questions of the day were sometimes narrow and often prejudiced, but they were always honest, and were always expressed with great clearness and force. His influence was, on the whole, a healthy one.

The disruption of the Whig party, and the defections from the Democratic party, brought about a curious and altogether discreditable condition of affairs at this time in the politics of the State. The Native-American, or "Know Nothing," party, which had figured for some years in a small way in local elec-

tions, swept the State in 1854, filling the General Court and the elective State offices with the representatives of every idiosyncrasy to be found in a community in which individualism was a form of religion.

Rufus Choate, writing to a friend at the time, said : " Your estate is gracious that keeps you out of hearing of our politics. Anything more low, obscene, feculent, the manifold heavings of history have not cast up. We shall come to the worship of onions, cats, and things vermiculate. Renown and grace are dead. There's nothing serious in mortality."

Wilson, Banks, Burlingame, and many other rising young politicians made use of the secret societies which constituted the Know-Nothing party, to push themselves to the front. Mr. Pierce was young, ambitious, and inexperienced ; he knew that he could secure instant recognition and political preferment if he would become a member of one of the "dark-lantern lodges" ; but he never hesitated for a moment to put himself in opposition to them. To oppose the Republicans who supported Banks, and who had formed a coalition with the "Know-Nothings," he organized, in 1857, what was known as the Straight Republican party. It was intended as a protest against the bargaining and intriguing methods of those who had got control of the newly formed Republican party. Its voting power was very small, but its protest carried weight and was not without results at a later day.

At the State convention of Straight Republicans, held in Boston on October 15, 1857, Mr. Pierce was nominated for Treasurer and Receiver-General. The correspondent of the "Springfield Republican," in giving an account of the convention, said : " As he [Henry L. Pierce] is the man of all others most responsible for the movement, there is no probability that he will decline the nomination, — unless he should be elected."

In the presidential campaign of 1856 Mr. Pierce had supported Fremont, but he had no illusions concerning that picturesque child of fortune. The nomination of Lincoln, in 1860, gave him a candidate whom he could support with the utmost enthusiasm.

At the annual State election, in November, 1859, he was chosen a representative from Dorchester to the General Court. He served as a member of the House for four years, 1860,

1861, 1862, and 1866. He soon came to be recognized as the leader of the radical wing of the Republican party, — the men who proposed to fight rather than make even the smallest concessions to the slave States. In the session of 1860 he was successful in getting a bill passed, both by the House and the Senate, amending the militia laws so that colored men might be enlisted into the service. Governor Banks vetoed the bill on the ground that it would irritate the South and impair the standing of the State in the national councils. The veto was sustained ; but four years later the amendment was passed and received the approval of Governor Andrew.

On retiring from office, at the beginning of the session of the General Court for 1861, Governor Banks recommended, in his farewell message, the repeal of the personal liberty law, so called,¹ which had been enacted with a view to hamper, if not defeat, the enforcement in Massachusetts of the federal law relating to the return of fugitive slaves. The repeal was favored by George Ashmun, who presided at the national convention which nominated Lincoln in 1860, and by many leading Republicans in and out of the State. Mr. Pierce made a determined stand against the repeal ; but he assented to an explanatory amendment of the law,² (favored by Governor Andrew) to avoid a possible construction which might involve a conflict between the National and State officers.

Charles Sumner wrote "a long and earnest letter"³ to Mr. Pierce, January 29, 1861, in which he said : "I was glad when you were chosen to the Legislature ; but I did not know then that I should have the special occasion for gratitude which fills me when I think that you are there to meet with steadfast opposition all those timid counsels which seek to overthrow our Massachusetts safeguards of personal liberty ; for I did not then imagine that the Republican party, fresh from its greatest triumph, would be willing to sacrifice these safeguards."

At the special session in May, 1861, Mr. Pierce led the movement, which was unsuccessful, to get an expression of opinion from the legislature in favor of such a change in the national laws as would authorize the enlistment of

¹ Gen. Stat. c. 144.

² Chap. 91, Acts 1861.

³ *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. iv. p. 21.

colored men in the regular army. This was probably intended as a note of defiance to the compromisers, — carrying Africa into the war, as Senator Sumner said.

In the session of 1862, as chairman of the Committee on Finance, he reported and carried through the House two important measures; namely, an act providing for the payment of the interest and principal of the State bonds in gold (this was after the legal tender act that had been passed by Congress), and an act levying a moderate tax on insurance companies and savings banks.

During the war he gave his time and his money liberally to the cause of the government, — promoting enlistments, assisting the work of the sanitary commission, and serving for a time at Fort Warren as a member of the Independent Corps of Cadets.

In 1867 he made an exhibit of his manufactures at the Paris Exposition, and was awarded a gold medal. In the following year he was appointed one of the commissioners on the part of the town of Dorchester to confer with commissioners from the city of Boston on the question of the annexation of the two municipalities. He favored annexation both for business and political reasons, and had he not used all his influence among his townsmen and in the legislature, the measure would have been defeated at that time. At the city election in December, 1869, he was chosen as the first representative of the Dorchester District in the Boston Board of Aldermen. He gave two years of conscientious and painstaking service to that office, and gained an insight into the local administration which, at a later day, was of great use to him.

After the Republican National Convention of 1872 had been held, Mr. Pierce went to Europe for three months, partly for recreation and partly to gain time for consideration of the political situation. His admiration for Grant's services in the war made him reluctant to admit the General's inaptitude for civil office. He sympathized with Sumner, but could not fully approve of the Senator's aggressive attitude towards the administration. Personal observation of Grant's *entourage* a few years later produced on his mind quite as sinister an impression as it had on Sumner's. But, looking at it as a practical question, from his standpoint of 1872, it seemed to him better to have Grant for another four years, with the

Republican party behind him, than it was to have a man of Greeley's erratic mind backed by an organization composed of men who could not by any possibility act together for any length of time. On returning from Europe, he called a meeting of his party in Dorchester and gave his reasons for supporting the Republican nominees.

He was now in receipt of an ample income, and had systematized his business so that he was able to give a good deal of time to outside matters. It was his wish to become a member of Congress when a favorable opportunity offered; and he would probably have received the nomination from the Third District at this time (1872) had he remained at home and entered more warmly into the canvass for the re-election of Grant. As it was, the nomination went to William Whiting, who had been Solicitor of the War Department, and who was on the best of terms with the existing administration.

The lack of executive capacity shown by the city authorities in dealing with the great fire which occurred in Boston on the 9th of November, and also in failing to check the smallpox epidemic, which had assumed alarming proportions, caused considerable dissatisfaction among the business men, and resulted in a call upon Mr. Pierce to stand as a non-partisan candidate for the office of Mayor. He was reluctant to enter the contest, as his feelings were more concerned at that time in national than in local affairs; but the call was a serious one, and he felt it to be his duty to accept. He was elected by a close vote.

The task which he had to perform was both difficult and delicate. The executive powers of the city government at this time were exercised largely by committees of the two branches of the City Council. Partly by special legislation, and partly through the neglect of the Mayor to assert his rightful authority, the office had come to play a very inferior part practically in the government of the city. Under the irresponsible system of committee rule, two of the most important departments of the local government had completely broken down.

Mr. Pierce knew that he would have public opinion at his back in exercising to the full extent of the law the power which belonged to his office. In his inaugural address he stated significantly that he should consider it his duty, in

cases of emergency, to exercise the paramount authority conferred by the charter upon the chief executive officer of the city. And in conclusion he said: "Since the settlement of those great national questions which absorbed the public attention during and for a number of years following the civil war, the people are beginning to recognize the necessity of looking more carefully after the management of their local affairs. It is in the government of our large cities that Republican institutions are being put to the severest test. The results in many respects have not thus far been encouraging. It must not be in the metropolis of New England that local self-government shall be stamped as a failure."

He recommended the prompt re-organization of the Health and Fire departments, and brought all the power of his office and all his personal influence to bear to have the recommendations carried out. Within ten days after taking office he had re-organized the Health Department and established a hospital in which smallpox patients could be isolated. The deaths from this disease had, at the beginning of the year, reached the number of fifty a week. Owing to the measures taken by the Mayor, the spread of the disease was immediately arrested, the number of deaths steadily decreased, and in a few weeks the new Board of Health was able to declare that the disease was stamped out. The re-organization of the Fire Department was strongly opposed by the friends of the old system, and it was not until after the occurrence of another serious fire (May 30, 1873) that the Mayor was able to secure the necessary legislation to accomplish his purpose. The form of organization then adopted for the Fire Department was retained for over twenty years. In the Health Department there has been no material change in the organization from that day to this.

The management of executive departments by "three-headed commissions" has been subject since then — and rightly so — to a good deal of criticism; but it should be borne in mind that it would have been impossible at that time to secure favorable consideration for any proposition to place the power in the hands of one man. It was a most important step in the direction of good government to curtail the executive powers of the City Council; it was the beginning of the end of the vicious system of government by committees.

Mr. Pierce secured the adoption of two other measures which he had recommended,— the appointment of a commission to revise the city charter, at the head of which he placed Hon. B. R. Curtis; and the opening of the public library reading-room on Sundays.

Hon. William Whiting died in the summer of 1873, several months before the first meeting of the Congress to which he had been elected; and in the election in November of that year Mr. Pierce was chosen to fill the vacancy. The Democrats failed to nominate any candidate against him, and his election was substantially unanimous. It was a marked tribute to the success of his administration as Mayor. In order to take his seat at the beginning of the session of Congress he resigned the office of Mayor on the 1st of December.

It was during the latter part of his term as Mayor that Mr. Pierce met Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich and his family, then living in James Russell Lowell's house at Elmwood, Cambridge. Two years before (November 1, 1871) he had lost his mother, with whom he had always lived, and to whom he was devotedly attached. The lonely life he was now leading at home had begun to tell on his health and spirits. He was fond of books, and had the admiration of a bookish man of business for writers of good literature. Under these circumstances the acquaintanceship with the Aldriches soon ripened into a friendship which lasted without a break during the remainder of his life.

The Republicans had control of both branches of Congress at this time. Their majority in the House was so large and contained so many men who aspired to be leaders that it was impossible to preserve party discipline. One wing of the party, of which General Butler might be considered the leader, sought to maintain political control of the States lately in rebellion by measures which imperilled Republican institutions. The other wing, represented in the Senate by Sumner and in the House by Garfield, Hawley, Foster, and a few others, favored a more conciliatory policy towards the South.

Mr. Pierce was one of the strongest and most persistent opponents of what might be called the Butler school of politics. On most questions he was in hearty accord with Sumner, for

whom he had a great personal liking ; but his mind was of too practical and independent a character to follow the Senator in all things.¹ He was deeply affected by the sudden death of Sumner on the 11th of March, 1874,² only a little more than three months from the beginning of the session. The social life of Washington lost much of its attraction for him after that event.

Mr. Pierce voted against the Sherman bill (passed in 1875) to resume specie payments in 1879, on the ground that, as it contained no provision for destroying the retired "greenbacks," it would fail to accomplish its purpose. He was mistaken in believing that the government would be unable to resume at the date named, but the "greenbacks" still constitute a menace to the maintenance of the gold standard.

In the latter part of the session he made a short but forcible speech in opposition to the bill to protect electors (popularly known as the Force Bill) giving the President extraordinary powers to interfere in the internal affairs of the States, and, in his discretion, to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

"Local self-government and the equality of all men before the law are," he said, "the cardinal principles of my political faith. By these principles I stand or fall. I resisted the Fugitive Slave Bill because it trampled upon the principles of civil liberty and the rights of human nature. The bill now under consideration is permeated with the spirit which gave life and vigor to that odious measure. Of the supporters of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the most conspicuous were Jefferson Davis and John C. Breckenridge. Some of the most blatant and pretentious supporters of Davis and Breckenridge in conventions and before the people, are here to-day the especial champions of this bill.³ . . . I know Massachusetts, and I have spoken her sentiments here. She has always interposed a firm resistance to the approach of arbitrary power. She resisted unto blood the Stamp Act, Writs of Assistance, and all the force bills which were enacted by Parliament to compel her submission to the British

¹ He differed from Sumner on a number of important public questions, *e. g.*, the impeachment of President Johnson, the opposition to the re-election of Grant in 1872, and the confirmation of Caleb Cushing as Chief Justice.

² He dined with Sumner, who had only one other guest, on the evening of the 10th ; and had retired but a short time when he was recalled to the Senator's house to find him at the point of death.

³ This had special reference to General Butler, one of the chief promoters of the bill.

crown. She will be true to her traditions and to her history, and will resist by all constitutional means every attempt, by whomsoever made, to impose similar measures upon any portion of the people of our common country."

He joined the Democrats in filibustering against the passage of the bill, but it was carried in the House as a party measure. In the Senate it was ordered to a second reading, and then dropped. Commenting on the passage of the bill by the House, the "Springfield Republican" said: "It is putting the case mildly to say that it is the worst day's work any party has done for itself since a Democratic majority passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill."

In the elections to the next Congress the Democrats, for the first time in many years, secured a majority of the Representatives from Massachusetts, and had full control of the House. Mr. Pierce, however, had not only the united support of his own party, but the votes of many Democrats who admired his independent course, and he was handsomely re-elected.

During the session of the Forty-fourth Congress (December 6, 1875-March 4, 1877) he was at the head of the Republican members of the Committee on Commerce. He made a very full and valuable report on the subject of relieving vessels engaged in the coasting trade from the unjust and discriminating legislation of some of the States concerning pilotage fees. He made two formal speeches of some length, — one in favor of an amendment to the Constitution, limiting the term of office of the President (this with a view to check the aspirations of Grant to a third term¹); and the other in opposition to the claims of certain parties to a share in the Geneva award.

The most courageous act of his political life, perhaps, and the one by which he is probably best known outside of his native State, was performed near the close of this session. He had been a cordial supporter of Hayes in the presidential canvass of 1876, and had followed very closely and anxiously the proceedings of the Republican returning boards in the Southern States, in which the Democrats appeared, on the face of the returns, to have a majority of the votes. He came to the con-

¹ He also voted for a resolution supported by the Democrats, declaring that a departure from the time-honored custom of retiring from the presidential office after a second term, was unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

clusion that the vote of Louisiana could not justly be counted for Hayes. He was not prepared to say, in view of all the circumstances attending the election, that the vote ought to be counted for Tilden. Following the precedents in such cases, the vote of Louisiana should be thrown out. But that gave the election to Tilden. He regarded Tilden as rather a shifty politician, but it seemed to him that it would be vastly more dangerous as a precedent to count in Hayes on a fraudulent return than to throw out that return and decide the election in favor of the Democratic candidate.

To prevent a deadlock between the House and the Senate, he supported the bill to create an electoral commission, whose decision on the disputed returns was to be final, unless reversed by a vote of both houses. The general rule under which the commission decided to act, namely, that it was only empowered to canvass electoral votes, not popular votes, and to decide whether the Governor had certified those electors who had been declared elected by the canvassing authority of the State, carried the electoral vote of Louisiana to the Republican column.

That decision Mr. Pierce declared he could not sustain. It was said by some of his party associates that, after voting to establish the commission, he was bound by its finding, and that, by voting against the finding, he was obstructing a settlement. But under the Constitution the responsibility for counting the electoral votes and declaring the result devolved upon Congress, and could not be avoided by that body. It was as much the duty of members of Congress to vote to reverse the decision of the commission, in whole or in part, if they thought it wrong, as it is for a justice of the Supreme Court to file a dissenting opinion in a case in which, in his judgment, the decision of a lower court, or the decision of a majority of his associates, is not in accordance with the common or the statute law. The question would have been settled just as promptly and just as authoritatively if both branches of Congress had voted against the decision of the commission as it was by the vote of one branch to sustain it.

When the question came up for final action in the House, the feeling was intense; the floor and galleries were crowded, and the scene was a memorable one. As the speeches were limited to ten minutes, there was little opportunity for ora-

torical display. Mr. Pierce spoke very impressively, in a voice that could be heard throughout the chamber, and was listened to with the closest attention. "That gross fraud," he said, "was committed in the canvass of the votes is admitted, I believe, by both parties; and it is also admitted that the returning board acted in the discharge of their duties in an illegal and arbitrary manner. If these are not matters which the representatives of all the people, authorized by the Constitution to count the votes and declare the result, can inquire into, then this government stands on a very insecure foundation."

Julius H. Seelye, of western Massachusetts, was the only Republican who joined him in his protest. While Mr. Pierce believed that the decision of the electoral commission, so far as the vote of Louisiana was concerned, was wrong, he accepted the decision of Congress as concluding the whole question, and as giving a perfect title to Mr. Hayes, who had conducted himself throughout the whole controversy in a way that won the respect of all fair-minded men.

Some time before the elections to the Forty-fifth Congress, Mr. Pierce announced in the public press his determination to decline a re-election. When first chosen he had looked forward to a much longer service. He went to Washington with high hopes of usefulness in a field peculiarly attractive to him, and one in which he felt that he was capable of doing good work. He was disappointed. He found himself forced into the position of opposing his party associates on the most prominent questions of the day. He had to spend himself not in promoting good legislation, but in opposing bad; he saw the public service under Grant's administration steadily deteriorating; his social relations with the party leaders were becoming strained; and he knew that if he remained in Washington he would presently find himself without a party and without the ability to serve his constituents in matters in which they had a right to his service.

He stated at the time that he should not take public office again. It was his intention to devote himself to his manufacturing business, taking part in public affairs only as a business man, and on occasions when he could make his influence felt. It was in this spirit that he attended the reform conference in New York, in the spring of 1876, which adopted an address

recognizing it as the most pressing duty of American citizens "to re-establish the moral character of our government, and to elevate the tone of our political life."

In the autumn of that year he made a number of speeches in different parts of the State in support of Hayes for President, and in opposition to the return of General Butler to Congress. In concluding his remarks concerning Butler's political record, he said: "A solemn responsibility rests upon every good man here to do all that in him lies to prevent the indorsement of one who, to use the words of Lord Macaulay in describing a notorious member of the British government, 'is a bad man, a very bad man, a scandal to politics.'"

Soon after the national election of 1876, a petition, signed by over 2,500 taxpaying citizens, "representing all classes and all parties," was presented to Mr. Pierce, asking him to stand as a candidate for mayor of Boston. He felt that, whatever his personal inclinations might be, the call was not one to be declined. The contest was a sharp one, calling out a very heavy vote, but he was elected over his Democratic opponent by a large majority.

In his inaugural address he referred to some of the schemes which had been suggested for improving local government by a limitation of the suffrage, or by transferring the more important duties to commissions appointed by the State authorities. "While I am perfectly sensible," he said, "of the defects in our present system of municipal administration, I cannot help regarding with distrust any scheme for curing them by a radical change in the New England system under which we have grown up, and which, notwithstanding its defects, has thus far produced better results than any other system that has been tried in this country."

During the interval since Mr. Pierce's previous administration, the Police Department had become conspicuous for want of discipline and efficiency. He determined, therefore, to reorganize it upon substantially the same basis as the Health and Fire departments; but in order to do so, additional State legislation was required. Mainly through his influence and upon his representations, the necessary legislation was secured, and the department was put on a business footing. Some years later, through the influence of the temperance organizations on the country members of the legislature, the appointment

of police commissioners was transferred from the mayor of the city to the governor of the State. Mr. Pierce, who was not in office at the time, strongly opposed this violation of the principle of local self-government.

At the end of the year he declined a re-election, his health having become greatly impaired under the strain of official duties and the care of his large manufacturing business. He went abroad as soon as his successor was inaugurated, and spent the next five months in the south of Europe.

In the Republican primary meetings for the election of delegates to the State convention of 1879 Mr. Pierce's name appeared prominently in connection with the nomination for Governor to succeed Thomas Talbot, who had declined a re-election. While he did not seek the nomination he stated frankly that he would be glad to accept it if it came to him as the expressed will of the party. The contest turned largely on the temperance question. John D. Long was the candidate of those who were opposed to the license system. Mr. Pierce was in favor of the existing system of local option, and the strict regulation and limitation of the liquor traffic in the towns and cities voting for the issue of licenses. An informal ballot in the convention showed that Mr. Long had about four sevenths of the votes, and Mr. Pierce's friends then joined in making the nomination unanimous.

Most of the delegates to the Republican State convention of 1883 were elected before Mr. Pierce returned from his customary summer trip to Europe; and it was evident that a majority were in favor of nominating him for Governor. The party leaders and the party followers appeared to be substantially united in believing him to be the strongest man to oppose Governor Butler, who was seeking a re-election. As soon as he reached home he was urged to announce his candidacy, but he declined to make any statement until he had time to consider the situation. Much to the regret of his supporters, he decided, just before the meeting of the convention, to withdraw in favor of Hon. George D. Robinson, who already had the support of a number of delegates, and who was better qualified as a speaker to take the field against Butler.

For some years Mr. Pierce had looked with growing distrust upon the men who were gaining the ascendancy in the Repub-

lican party. He had no confidence in the leadership of either Blaine or Conkling, and when the former was nominated for the presidency in 1884, he immediately set about organizing an independent movement. In calling to order the first meeting in Boston of the Republicans who repudiated the nomination, Mr. Pierce said: "I regret as much as any one the train of events which has brought about the present condition of things; but I believe it is incumbent upon every good citizen, every one who desires an honest, a pure, a patriotic administration, one free from jobbery, one free from jingoism, and free from various propositions which have been made by the gentleman who has been nominated, to use his utmost efforts to prevent his election to the presidency."

Mr. Pierce subsequently gave his hearty support to Cleveland, not only in the election of 1884 but in the two presidential elections which followed. Although he thus severed his connection with the Republican party, he never identified himself with the Democratic party organization.

After the resumption of specie payments in 1879, the question of reducing the tariff taxes came to the front. There had been no material change in the duties on foreign imports since the war; and the revenue from that source was greatly in excess of the needs of the government. A commission appointed by the President under the authority of Congress, and composed of a majority of pronounced protectionists, reported that "a substantial reduction of tariff duties was demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country," and that they regarded such a reduction not only as a due recognition of public sentiment, but as conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and one which would be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected. The schedule of tariff duties presented to Congress by the commission was represented as involving a reduction of from twenty to twenty-five per cent on the existing rates; but as amended and passed by Congress, it was found upon trial to be nearly four per cent higher than the rates heretofore in force. A strong feeling of indignation was aroused among the business men at the outcome of the movement, which had been started in good faith under Republican auspices, for a reduction of what had been properly described as a "war tariff." A call

for revenue reform was signed by many of the leading business men in the State, without regard to party, and on the 29th of April, 1884, the Massachusetts Tariff Reform League¹ was organized, with Charles Francis Adams, Jr., as President. Mr. Pierce took a prominent part in the organization; and on the 27th of May, 1886, he was called upon to preside at a meeting of business men, held in the Old South Church, to promote the passage of an act which had recently been introduced into Congress by Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, and which had for its object the removal of duties from many raw materials used by American manufacturers and the simplification of the rules regulating importations. On taking the chair he made a short speech in which he exposed, with great clearness and force, some of the provisions of the Act of 1883 which depressed our industries instead of fostering them, and others which served simply to obstruct trade. His remarks furnished a fruitful text for much of the discussion which extended through the next two presidential elections.

President Cleveland's message to Congress in December following, devoted almost wholly to the question of revising and reducing the tariff duties, was welcomed by Mr. Pierce as an act of great courage and statesmanship on the part of the chief executive. He accepted the position of President of the Tariff League in 1887, and took an active part in the campaign of education carried on by that organization until 1894, when he resigned just before starting on a trip around the world.

In his letter of resignation he said: —

“The tariff act just passed [the Wilson bill, so called] has some positive merits, and has at least the negative merit of being, even in its worst features, less bad than McKinleyism. But the action of certain United States Senators, in violating the solemn pledges of their party under the sinister influences which were openly at work, has brought home to the people the intimate connection between protection and legislative corruption. To my mind, the economic evils arising from unwise restrictions upon trade can better be borne than the utter demoralization of the people's representatives in the presence of organized wealth. This evil will not be cured until the country has established a firm policy, under which private interests will no longer look to Washington for special favors.”

¹ In 1890 the name was changed to the “New England Tariff Reform League,” and in 1895 to the “New England Free Trade League.”

Two years later he found himself obliged, in the interest of honest and orderly government, to use his influence and contribute his money to help elect the very man whose name he had used as the synonyme of all that was most obnoxious in tariff legislation. To one who carried so much earnestness and sincerity into his political work, it was a most disheartening conclusion.

For some years previous to this his general health had been much better than it was during the period of his hardest work; but latterly his eyesight had become somewhat impaired, and he had been advised to keep in the open air as much as possible. He was never so well or so happy as when on the water. He crossed the Atlantic thirty-five times, visiting almost every place of note in Europe. During the last year and a half of his life he owned a handsome steam yacht, and spent much of his time in cruising along the Atlantic coast or in the Southern seas. In September, 1896, he took a severe cold while returning from a business trip to Chicago. His constitution had become weakened by his anxiety over the political situation, and although there appeared to be no organic trouble he was unable to recover his strength and customary hopefulness. Under the advice of physicians, he was having his yacht put in order for a trip to the Bahamas when he was suddenly stricken with paralysis, and, after lingering in a partially conscious state for some days, died on the 17th of December, 1896.

His character was not one easy to understand or to portray. It was deeply marked by "that strange dualism which makes men sometimes strong and sometimes weak." Those who thought to take advantage of what seemed, on a superficial acquaintance, to be a simple and unsuspecting nature, found their efforts to use or mislead him thwarted, but generally in such a way as to make them think that he had failed to penetrate their designs. He was naturally reticent about the things that lay nearest to his heart, and he rarely gave himself unreservedly even to those—and they were few—with whom he was really intimate. This was due in part, doubtless, to his natural shyness, and in part to a secretive disposition.

In his judgment of men he was frequently misled by his

personal prejudices; in his judgment of public measures he was seldom wrong.

He was a man of intuitions. If called upon to act suddenly in public affairs, he almost invariably did the right thing; but it was only after long thought and much disturbance of his nervous system that he was able to give his reasons.

He had an innate faculty for politics. Rev. Dr. Munger, in his remarks at the funeral services held in the Village Congregational Church near the Chocolate Mills, very truly said :

“ Mr. Pierce was always a business man, and the evidence is close at hand, but I am inclined to think that he was even more fitted for the affairs of state; and if I go farther and say that he was a statesman, you will not disagree with me. Beyond two terms in Congress, and some service in the Legislature, and as Alderman and Mayor of the city, he had no official life, but he was all through busy with public affairs, and in a way beyond that of the private citizen. He co-operated with other men of like capacity and principles in preparing the way for such legislation as the country required, and in devising measures for directing public opinion in right channels. He had the New England conscience to the full, but its largest play was upon questions of state. Never did I hear him speak of public affairs without mention of the right and wrong involved in the points at issue.

“ He was of that type of citizen, — better seen in this Commonwealth than anywhere else in the country, — the citizen who can be loyal to a party, but is yet superior to party; who deals in principles rather than in measures, and does not hesitate how to act when they conflict; who believes in the divine right to bolt.”

Mr. Pierce was always a liberal contributor to the funds for the payment of election expenses; and to escape the importunities of the party workers, he sometimes gave unwisely.

He gave liberally to churches of different denominations, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant. His father was an active member of the Methodist church while he lived in Stoughton, but on moving to Dorchester he attended service in the Orthodox Congregational church of that place; and the son kept up the connection with that church until about the time he went to Congress. After that he was generally away from Dorchester on Sundays, and did not go to church regularly for some years. Later, when he came to spend his Sundays at Mr. Aldrich's house in town, he bought a pew in King's Chapel, and, except when travelling abroad, was con-

stant in his attendance during six or seven months in the year. He came to regard the churches simply as institutions more or less efficient for the promotion of goodness. It might be said that, during the latter part of his life, he had reached the state of development in which, as Mark Pattison said of himself after passing through the Oxford movement, "all religions appear in their historical light as efforts of the human spirit to come to an understanding with that unseen power whose pressure it feels but whose motives are a riddle."

There were four men — Gustavus Adolphus, Burke, Gladstone, and Cleveland — whose doings and sayings occupied his mind and influenced his thoughts very fully at different times in his life. Burke's speeches and political essays were a never-failing resource for him; they added to his enjoyment when things were going well, and they helped to console him when things were going ill.

He was fond of good literature; and even when most closely pressed by public or private affairs, he seldom let a day go by without giving some time to more substantial reading than that contained in the daily papers. He was not a wide reader, but within his chosen field — history, biography, and travel — he was a most intelligent one. In his many trips abroad he found the want of knowledge of French a serious drawback to his enjoyment; and after he was sixty years old he took up the study of that language at odd moments, and learned enough to be able to read a newspaper or a novel with considerable facility.

He was what Dr. Johnson would have called a clubable man. He was one of the original members of the Union Club, organized in 1863, and was a familiar figure in the clubhouse during the later years of his life. At the time of his death he was a member of eleven clubs in or near Boston, three in New York, and one in London. He was one of the trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts and of the Institute of Technology, a member of the Massachusetts Order of the Loyal Legion (by virtue of his service at Fort Warren during the War), and of many other organizations, social, historical, and political.

He was concerned in very few business enterprises outside of the one with which he was specially identified. For many years all of his income beyond that required for his living expenses, the maintenance of his home in Dorchester, and the

Redman Farm in Ponkapoag (Canton), was used in the extension of his business plant. His personal expenses, until the last years of his life, when failing eyesight compelled him to seek recreation out of doors, were very small as compared with those of most men of large means. He bought a controlling interest in the "Boston Post" in 1886, and for nearly three years furnished most of the money required to make it a high-class, independent newspaper. Finding it apparently impossible to make such a paper pay its expenses, he severed his connection with it, leaving all that he had invested in the enterprise to those who were willing to go on with the publication.

During the last twenty-five years of his life he gave a great deal of money for educational and charitable purposes. His benefactions were not confined to institutions and individuals in his immediate neighborhood; he was a liberal giver to the colored schools and charities at the South and the struggling colleges in the extreme West. The disposition of his property by will was in harmony with the use of his property through life. After providing liberally for relatives, friends, and those in his service, he gave the remainder (more than half of the whole) to religious, educational, and charitable institutions which, by a judicious use of benefactions in the past, had made good their claim to support in the future.

While it cannot be said that he played a great part in the times in which he lived, it may be said without exaggeration that, within the sphere in which he moved, he performed an important part and performed it well. He used and improved his talents so that not only the community in which he lived, but the broader commonwealth which he served and loved, was the better for his having lived.

JUNE MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the rooms at No. 73 Tremont Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the PRESIDENT spoke at some length of his feelings on his return home, of his winter in Florence, of the various collections of historical manuscripts in Italy, and of the occurrences during his absence, and in conclusion said:—

My return, in other respects, as well as for the reason I have already given, not inspiring, has been rendered even less so by the fact that I find myself meeting this Society for the first time since I have been a member of it, now over twenty years, in quarters neither their own nor familiar to us. The places that have known us will know us no more forever. It seems, indeed, as if I failed to recognize here the old Massachusetts Historical Society with which I have been so long connected, for in my mind the quarters we have vacated were somewhat hallowed ground. Not only did we look from our windows on one of the historic spots of Boston,—a spot hallowed in history and romance,—the spot where John Winthrop, the father of New England, lies buried,—but to me the rooms were closely associated with venerable names which will in memory ever cling to them. When I first attended a meeting of the Society, we seemed on that spot to clasp hands across the years with the fathers, and almost with the colonial period. Mr. Winthrop, the direct descendant of our first governor, had then been thirty-six years a member of the Society. When, as a young man, he joined it, Josiah Quincy had already been connected with it for forty-three years; and President Quincy carried us back to the founders. The connection was immediate. Since then, as I have already more than once had occa-

sion to say from this chair, the Society has passed into the hands of the men of the second half of the century in place of the men of the first half. We have entered well on the fourth generation. But this ground has already been sufficiently covered by my friend Mr. Smith, and I do not propose to trespass upon it. In connection with it, however, there is one matter upon which I desire to put myself on record. The memory of changes and of the precise causes which led to them soon passes away, and men are often held responsible for results the furthest possible from what they desired, but which were forced upon them by conditions quite lost to mind. It is on this I wish to touch. The time may come, and not improbably will come, when plans which are now being matured will have turned out otherwise than was expected, and it will be remembered only that we were well and safely placed at some former period, and the arrangements then existing were broken up by some one person, — in this case myself, — for reasons which will appear inexplicable, and which results have failed to justify. I wish, therefore, to say that the removal which has now taken place was not in accordance with what I desired; but events made it necessary. For myself I would have much preferred to have had the Society remain where it was for some years to come; but unfortunately, for reasons which I propose once more to state, the change which has been made was more than voluntary or expedient, — it was compelled.

You will all remember that when the building we have left was constructed, — now some twenty-five years ago, — it was built upon a limited piece of land, and under a lease for fifteen years to the city of Boston. It was constructed for the use of the city, and as a building was adapted to no other purpose. When the city found the accommodations it desired elsewhere, it allowed the lease to terminate, and the property then fell back on our hands. For us to occupy the entire building was out of the question. It was neither adapted to our use, nor could we afford it; for we were dependent in large degree for our annual income on the rents received from it. After the city vacated the premises at the expiration of their lease, we thus found, to our dismay, that the building was a dead weight on our hands. It could be adapted to no useful purpose, and, indeed, no person or institution could be found who would pay any rent whatever for it. Thus placed, I went to the city

authorities, and tried to induce them to place some one of the numerous municipal departments in the vacant rooms even at a reduced rental. I tried in vain. Fortunately for us, by one of those mutations in city politics which are so common, the present mayor was then elected to succeed Mayor Curtis. I then went to him and renewed my negotiations; and now I succeeded in making a lease to the city of the old premises at the old rent for a term of five years. This was satisfactory so far as it went, and it would have been possible for us to have remained where we were during those five years, taking our chances of what might afterwards happen. On the other hand, by so doing, we would again subject ourselves to all the vicissitudes of municipal change. The city was our one customer. A bitter experience had shown us that we were wholly in its power. If, when the lease expired, some other mayor succeeded to Mayor Quincy, not impossibly he would have a scheme in mind for the erection of a new city hall, and then to renew the lease with us would work directly in opposition to his plans. When, two years ago, Mr. Curtis was mayor, I urged upon him as strongly as I could the desirability of the city purchasing the property. My efforts met with no success whatever. Although any land-owner holding what the city owned in that vicinity would have seen the advantage of the purchase, as affording an outlet on Tremont Street, Mayor Curtis offered me no encouragement. He would not even study the situation. It remains to see who will succeed Mayor Quincy, and whoever follows him we might, and probably would, again have found ourselves with a wholly unavailable property on our hands,—deprived of our chief source of income. It was, therefore, a question whether we would take the chances of the future, involving all the mutations of city politics, or whether we would make a sale and so save ourselves while we yet could.

Under these circumstances, I held—and the members of the Council agreed with me—that the sale which ought to be made should be made while we were certain it could be made, and no chances taken. This necessarily involved our vacating the premises before we were ready to do so, or wanted to do so; but that was considered the lesser of two evils. Let me add also that the difficulties of effecting the sale and transfer of the property, even under these

circumstances, were greater than would readily be believed. Finally, after months of discussion and negotiation, Mayor Quincy sent for me, and frankly admitted that he could not command even the comparatively small sum of money necessary to the purchase. While, he said, all the members of the city government agreed that it should be made, yet every one of them, he also intimated, had some scheme of his own connected with his particular ward or district which in his mind had priority to it. His Honor, therefore, wished to know whether I could propose any plan under which the purchase could be made without the city in reality advancing any considerable sum of ready money towards it. I suggested the plan which was subsequently adopted, and which has recently been approved by the Society. Under this plan the whole transaction was consummated during the safe period of Mayor Quincy's tenure of office, and it was done solely through his zealous wish to effect, while he was in position to do it, an arrangement which every business man would agree was proper and beneficial to the city. I deplore as much as any one can, now or hereafter, deplore the fact that this caused the premature break which has taken place in our abiding-place, leaving us, as it were, homeless for an indefinite period. Nevertheless, as I have already said, taking the whole situation into view, and making due allowance for the unbusiness-like considerations which prevail in municipal bodies, this was, and will probably remain, the best solution of the problem possible under the circumstances. In any event it accounts for our being where we now are, and where we are likely to remain possibly for a greater, though, I sincerely hope, only for a short period.

The PRESIDENT then announced the death of the Hon. John Lowell, on the 14th of May, and called on Mr. THORNTON K. LOTHROP, who spoke as follows:—

For more than forty years my relations with Judge Lowell were very intimate. For several years previous to his appointment to the Bench we occupied the same offices, and I had personally the pleasure of carrying to him the telegram from Washington announcing his nomination and confirmation as District Judge for the District of Massachusetts. Before his

appointment he had been principally employed in office practice. He was a good lawyer, a safe and judicious adviser, and those who had once consulted him were apt to become his permanent clients.

Upon the resignation of Judge Sprague in 1865, Mr. Lowell was appointed District Judge by President Lincoln,— the last judicial appointment made by Lincoln before his death ; in 1878 he was promoted to be the Judge of the Circuit Court. This office he resigned in 1884, and resumed his practice at the bar. His appointment as District Judge was especially gratifying to him ; his great-grandfather, appointed in 1789 by President Washington, having been for twelve years the Judge of this Court, Mr. Lowell felt a natural and just pride in holding the same judicial position.

When he was appointed to the Bench, Judge Lowell had in a very limited degree, what seems with most Americans a natural gift, the faculty of thinking and speaking upon his feet, and his difficulty in doing this interfered at first with his success and reputation as a judge, particularly in *nisi prius* trials ; constant practice, however, increased his facility and power in this respect, and any difficulty of expression vanished at once when he took pen in hand. In style as well as in matter his written opinions are of the highest merit, well considered, clear, and concise.

From the beginning of his judicial career the counsel who appeared before him recognized that they were dealing with a judge quick to apprehend the real issues of a cause, trained in the examination and determination of legal questions, and well equipped with the learning of the law.

The subjects with which he had to deal (as a judge) were in some respects quite new to him. The District Court has original cognizance of all admiralty suits, and Judge Lowell's previous practice in admiralty had been very slight, if any ; yet I think it will be admitted by everybody familiar with his admiralty decisions that he was an excellent admiralty judge.

It was, however, in his administration of the bankrupt law of the United States that Judge Lowell won his widest reputation,— a reputation which extended throughout the whole country ; his decisions were everywhere regarded as of the highest authority, and it is not too much to say that among all

the judges having to deal with this law he held the foremost place.

The Circuit Court is the forum for the trial of the patent causes. This was a branch of the law for which he had no special aptitude and no natural taste. As he himself once said, "he was afraid of those infernal machines," but notwithstanding this he made himself master of the questions arising in these cases, and was recognized as an able and satisfactory patent judge.

It was not, however, to his learning or to his ability alone that he owed his deserved reputation as a judge, and the high position which he held in the confidence and respect of the community. It was to the weight of his character, which was everywhere more widely recognized and felt as he was more widely known. He was a man of a retiring disposition, modest, diffident, almost distrustful of his own powers and abilities, never seeking to put himself forward, but never shirking any duty which devolved on him. Intellectually and morally he moved upon a high plane, and all who came in contact with him in his court—counsel and suitors, jurymen, witnesses, officers of the court—felt the influence of his mind and character. Uniformly considerate of others, he treated the youngest men at the bar with a courtesy, attention, and patience which soon put them at their ease, and enabled them to present their cases to the best of their ability.

Personal prejudice or bias had no weight with him. He was a master of the technical rules of the law, and was most skilful in employing them to promote, or in avoiding them if he thought they would defeat, what he believed the ends of justice.

After he left the Bench in 1884 to resume his private practice, he had ample evidence, in his constant employment as arbitrator or referee, of the public confidence in him as a judge.

He was a citizen of a high patriotic purpose. It is said that he was with difficulty restrained from going to the war in 1861, and was only persuaded not to do so by being convinced of his entire physical unfitness for any military duty. His interest in public affairs was always keen, though his judicial profession prevented him from being ever a violent partisan.

His sympathies were warm and generous. He was a most loyal and devoted friend, and lent a helping hand to many who needed it. He had a keen wit and a strong sense of humor. His nature was unselfish. Thoughtful for others, he took no care for himself, but was absolutely disinterested. He bore with fortitude severe trials, had the courage of both physical and moral endurance, and that he might not alarm his friends or family, kept about his work till exhausted nature could do no more.

He believed in the value and importance of public worship, and was a regular attendant at church, going there for the last time only two Sundays before his death.

Judge Lowell had come to occupy, both at the bar and in the community, an important and almost unique position; he had their entire confidence and esteem, and commanded their highest respect; he was among the last survivors, and was perhaps the most prominent living representative, of a generation of lawyers and citizens which is rapidly disappearing, and with whose departure, it is to be feared, some of our best traditions and examples are fast dying out.

It was hardly to be expected that with his public duties and later engrossing occupations Judge Lowell could find the time to take any active part in historical work, but his interest in our Society was well known in his life, and was further manifested by the legacy which he left us at his death.

Mr. Lothrop was appointed to write the memoir of Judge Lowell, for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. Lucien Carr, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

It was *Voted* that the appointment of a delegate or delegates to represent the Society at the commemoration at Halifax of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by John Cabot be referred to the President with full power.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated the copy of a diary kept at the first siege of Louisburg, and said:—

The following Diary, kept by a soldier during the first siege of Louisburg, gives many interesting episodes of that eventful period. It begins on April 22, 1745, and ends on January 17,

1746. Unfortunately the writer's name does not appear anywhere in its pages, but the authorship is learned both from family tradition and internal evidence. For several generations the Diary has been in the keeping of the Kemp family, of Gorham, Maine; and among the various members it has been believed generally that the author was Dudley Bradstreet, whose daughter Mary married an ancestor, Ebenezer Kemp, and through this channel it is supposed that the Diary came into their possession. On page 6 is written in an old hand "Mary Kemp her Book," which seems to bear out this supposition; and the same name appears also in another place.

The little book in which the journal was kept now contains eighty-eight pages, and was made probably by folding sheets of folio writing-paper twice, and then stitching them together through the back; and this supposition is borne out by the water-mark, which is not the same on each half-sheet. It is interesting to note the fact that similar paper with the same water-marks is found scattered through the manuscripts among the Pepperrell Papers and Belknap Papers relating to the siege of Louisburg now in the possession of this Society. The outer fold (4 pages), which made a leaf at the beginning and end of the book, is gone; and presumably the name of the diarist was written on the first page. Another fold near the middle is also gone, and the gap is found between the entry of Wednesday, June 5, and that of June 20. The first leaf of this missing fold contained the record of June 5 (in part), 6, 7, and 8 (in part); and the corresponding leaf contained that of June 18 and 19. According to this statement the book had originally 96 pages, and was made from six full sheets of blank paper.

Of Dudley Bradstreet, the diarist, but little is known. He was the second son of the Reverend Dudley and Mary (Wainwright) Bradstreet, of Groton, where he was born on March 12, 1707-8. His father was the settled minister of that town from the year 1706 to 1712, when he was dismissed from his pastoral charge, presumably for his Episcopal tendencies; and soon afterward he went to England to apply for orders in the Anglican church. On April 28, 1727, Dudley Bradstreet, the son, was married to Abigail Lakin; and they had six children, namely: Abigail, born on June 27, 1728, and died probably in December, 1745, while her father was at Louisburg; Mary,

born on August 7, 1730, and married Ebenezer Kemp; Ann, born on May 18, 1735, married Samuel Hobart, on March 26, 1755, and died at Hollis, N. H., May 20, 1773; Lucy, born on April 8, 1738, and married Jonathan Pratt, on February 26, 1756; Sarah, born on September 26, 1740; and Hannah, born on August 13, 1743. From the fact that all these children were girls, it is easy to see why the name of Bradstreet disappeared from the annals of Groton, as at that period the father was the only representative of the family in town.

From internal evidence it is clear that the writer was a Groton soldier, and a member of Captain John Warner's company in the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment (Colonel Samuel Willard); and from contemporary records it is known that Dudley Bradstreet was an officer in this company. From time to time he mentions various Groton men who were then serving in the army, and, under date of December 6, he alludes to Samuel Shead, a recent arrival at Louisburg, who within a short time had seen his wife at Groton; and through him he heard from his whole family. Captain Warner was a resident of Lancaster, and presumably his company was made up of soldiers belonging there and in Groton and neighborhood.

In "The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register" (XXIV. 371) for October, 1870, it is said that Dudley Bradstreet was commissioned at Louisburg by Governor Shirley, as Second Lieutenant, on October 2, 1745; and before this time it is likely that he was holding a lower rank, perhaps that of Ensign or of a non-commissioned officer. This theory would explain why on various occasions he was placed in command of small squads of men, and furthermore would account for his social intercourse with other officers. While the compiler of the article in the Register gives no authority for his statement in regard to Bradstreet's commission, doubtless it is based on a letter found among the Pepperrell Papers (I. 319) in the library of the Historical Society, of which the following is a copy:—

To

His Exelency W^m SHIRLEY, Esq^r:

This is to inform your Exelency That my Regiment is not Settle^d so as to be in any Capassity of doing their duty. as they aught to do— and it is by Reason of y^e Companys being Very much Broke: and in order for the Settlement of the Companys In my Regiment. and for the

Peace and Quietness of the Soldiers: I shall take it as a Grate Favour Done to me: if your Exelency would See Cause To Commitionate Those Gentleman Hereafter Name^d John Huston, James Fry John Fry Nath^l Pettengill To be the officers over the men that belong^d To Lev^t Coll^o Chandlers Company & Cap^t James Stevenss Comp^a Jon^a Hubbard Benejah Austin & Elisha Strong To be the officers over the men belonging To Maj^r Pomroys Comp^a & Cap^t Millers — Ephariam Hayward and John Bell & Dudley Bradstreet To be The officers over the men that are Left of Cap^t Warners Comp^a & Cap^t Omstedes

In So Doing you will Oblige you most obedient and Humble Servant

SAM^{ll} WILLARD

LOUISBOURG, Oct^r the 2^day 1745

LOUISBOURG 2^d Octo^r 1745

We the Subscribers the Officers to the four Companys within mention'd humbly proposed to Your Excellency by Col^o Samuel Willard for the settlem^t thereof; untill the Spring ensueing, or the first of May next desire the favour of your Excellency that we with our respective Companys may be joynd to the Regiment of Brigadier Generall Waldo; and that your Excellencys orders or Commissions may Issue accordingly,

JN^o HUSTON

JAMES FRY

JON^a HUBBARD

EPHRAIM HAYWARD

To His Excellency WILLIAM SHIRLEY Esq^r
Captain Generall of His Majesties Forces
att Louisbourg, &c^a

Cap^t Frye fr^o y^a 12th July has done the Duty of a Captain to 2 Companys

Cap^t Hayward fr^o d^o

[Indorsed] Sam^{ll} Willards Petition

The following extract, taken from Benjamin H. Hall's "History of Eastern Vermont" (p. 37), throws a little light on Lieutenant Bradstreet's later career, though I cannot find the writer's authority for his statements. A long search among the Massachusetts Archives at the State House fails to reveal it; but Mr. Hall, doubtless, had access to other papers, which gave him the facts as mentioned in the quoted paragraph.

More effectual measures for the defence of the country were taken at the beginning of the year 1747, than had been adopted for some time previous. On the 17th of March, Governor Shirley presented to the

General Court a message relative to the state of Fort Dummer, and the importance of its position, and advised that it should be garrisoned with a larger force than was ordinarily stationed there. That body having voted in accordance with this recommendation, Brigadier-Gen. Joseph Dwight, by order of the governor, requested Lieut. Dudley Bradstreet to take the command of forty men, and with them garrison Fort Dummer, in place of the guard then stationed there. The request was obeyed, and the fort with its stores was, on the 15th of April, delivered by Col. Josiah Willard into the hands of his successor. Bradstreet retained the charge of the fort for five months, at the end of which time it was again placed in the care of its former commander.

Near the end of July, 1748, Dudley Bradstreet belonged to a company of thirty-six men that for two days scouted in the neighborhood of Groton, under the command of Captain Thomas Tarbell. They were sent out by Major William Lawrence, of Groton, under orders from Colonel Samuel Willard, of Lancaster, during an Indian alarm. (Massachusetts Archives, XCII. 156.) This is the last trace of Lieutenant Bradstreet that I am able to find. Neither the town records nor the files of the Middlesex Registry of Probate give any hint or clew as to his later history; and the epitaphs in the Burying-ground are equally silent. He disappears from view so completely that he may have died soon afterward.

Jonathan Hubbard, of Groton, was Adjutant of Colonel Willard's regiment, and he is mentioned several times in the Diary under the name of Hobart. These two surnames are often used interchangeably in the early Groton records; and in Mr. Butler's History (page 409) he is called "Lieut. Jonathan Hubbard," and in "The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register" (XXV. 259) for July, 1871, the same form is found, which agrees with his own signature. In Colonel Willard's letter just given, the name is written "Hubard," showing a want of uniformity in spelling which was common in those days.

According to an entry in Joseph Farwell's note-book, printed in the first volume (No. XIV. p. 29) of the Groton Historical Series, the Groton soldiers who took part in the siege of Louisburg left town on March 10, 1745; and this squad of men, doubtless, included Lieutenant Bradstreet within its ranks. His regiment sailed from Boston on March 24, a fortnight later.

For the use of this Diary I am indebted to the courtesy of Miss Sarah Colburn Kemp, a native of Gorham, Maine, but

now a resident of Manchester, New Hampshire, who is a descendant in the fifth generation from the writer. Her ancestor Ebenezer Kemp, of Groton, was married about the year 1748 to Mary, eldest surviving daughter of Lieutenant Bradstreet; and they had nine children, of whom a son was named Dudley Bradstreet. Their eldest child, Ebenezer, Jr., was married on August 31, 1773, to Relief Phillips, of Groton; and they had seven children. Soon after the Revolution this son removed to Gorham, where he died in the year 1833; and members of the family still continue to live in that town. David Kemp, their sixth child, was married to Anna Humphrey; and they had five children, of whom Willis Bradstreet Kemp, the eldest son, was the father of the young lady, whose kindness I wish to acknowledge.

The Diary is written in a clear and distinct hand, and shows that the author had received a better education than the average yeoman of that period, which is not surprising, as he was a lineal descendant of Governor Simon Bradstreet. The ink on the first page is so faded that the manuscript for the most part is illegible, and only here and there can words be made out, — though among such are the proper names Jacob Nutt[ing], Peletia Bourn, and John Parker, — but on the last page it is still good. Perhaps moisture or an exposure to sunlight has wrought the change, or possibly another kind of ink was used. On this account the printed copy begins with the second page of the journal; and it opens at the time when Pepperrell's forces were lying at anchor in the Gut of Canso, a place previously arranged by Governor Shirley as a rendezvous for the fleet.

For other similar journals relating to the siege of Louisburg, see "Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society" (I. 131-161); "Historical Collections of the Essex Institute" (VI. 181-194) for October, 1864; "The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register" (XXVII. 153-160) for April, 1873; and "The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., during his Captivity in the French and Indian War, from May, 1745, to August, 1747" (New York, 1896). See also "A Letter from William Shirley, Esq; Governor of Massachusetts Bay, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle: with a Journal of the siege of Louisburg," etc. (London, 1746; Boston, reprinted), which is in the nature of an official report on the military operations.

[Diary.]

[April 22, 1745.] About 6 aClock in the aftnoone there Came in a Sloop Major Hodge on Board Came out of Boston with us But not having a good Pilate Suffered verry much att Sea att night Came Orders for Cap^t Warner to go on Board of Col^o Richmonds Vessel to Consult Expecting to Sail on the morrow for Cape Breton

[2]³ The man of war with other Vessels went in Expectation to find Comodore Warrin Commodore Warrin Came in Sight with Three men of war with him Sent Some men in with Letters

Came in Two Scooners with a Small french Sloop: One of the Scooners Chasd a Small Sloop and She run aground and our men went on Board and the french and Indians from y^e Land fird upon them and Wounded Several of our men one in the forehead One in the arm One in the thigh One of y^e Scooners Landed her men and Burned Three houses y^t Belonged to the french One of which a verry fine house: But Took no Plunder Being in a Hurry

Wrote Letters home

Rec^d Orders To Sail att Two of the Clock in the morning Sent twenty She Lin¹ To Col^o Willard Sealed up in a Letter which were Delivd he Thakfully Rec^d them

24 Connecticut fleet Came in and Brought News y^t they Saw a Sloop One of their Company wth mounted 16 Carriage guns: in an Ingagement with a french Ship which we Expect is the man of war y^t our Privateers Ingaged with on y^e 18th Instant But they had fird Several Broad sides Our Sloop Strove to get away But it is to be fear'd They are Taken &c att night went on Board of Major Guilman

25th Cloudy and Rained Some in the morning A Snow Came in &c which Was a Privateer from Rhoad Island She Came from Luisbourgh Harbour and Brought News that y^e Ice is all gone. Before noone Came in the before mentioned Sloop She is a privateer Sloop and Informs us That She Got away from y^e french man By Turning To windward and that french Vessel had four Broad Sides att her But Did them no Damage Excepting Cutting their jib Halliards Before Came in y^e Perscattua Privattees from S^t Peters. They fird Several Shots att the fort and Several Shots Through a house and Saw the woman and Children run out of their Houses the Rev^d [M]^r Baulch² Din'd with us

¹ *Shillings* are here meant, but why the diarist saw fit to use this expression it is not easy to conjecture. In another place (December 27) he writes the word out correctly.

² Thomas Balch (H. C. 1733), minister of the Second Parish in Dedham, now Norwood.

26th Rain'd all Day att Times The Commodore Rouse with Two Privateers went out Commodores Boatswain Bury'd Cap^t Dudley with Divers Other Gen^l Din'd with us: Cap^t Swan Came in and Inform'd us that he was On Board of Comodore Warrin and y^e the Commodore had Three french Vessels in Toe &c Likewise y^e s^d Comodore Warrin Had Lost Seven of his men att margarets Bay he apprehends the Indians have kill'd or Taken them We heard Comissary Prout Being on Shore went from his men Two Days ago and they was afraid y^e Indians had Taken him But his men this Day found him: and he Being so far Spent haveing no Sustinance that he Could not Speak But after he had Taken Something was able To Travel & is got on Board This Day we killd our hogg

27th Apr^l 1745 Rainy weather a man was Bury'd but I know not who he was. Sent for y^e Doc^t To Some Sick People after Dinner he wth Other Gen^l Came and y^e Cap^t with Several of us went on Board Col^o Willard and when on Board Rec^d Orders To go on Shoar wth the whol Company which we did and Divers Other Companys and Immediately after we were Imbody'd Rec^d Orders To go on Board allso Rec^d Orders To Carry y^e first Orders we Rec^d after we Came to Canso To y^e Gen^l which Cap^t Warner Performd att night went on Board Major Guilman and Rec^d Pay for a Quarter of Pork we Sold to his Lieu^t Rec^d for y^e same 0 = 8 = 3

Apr^l y^e 28th Sunday. Cloudy misty and foggy weather in the morning heard a Great Gun out att the Harbour: went To meeting on Board Col^o Willard the Rev^d m^r Baulch Preached from 2 Timothy first Chap^r and y^e first Clause in y^e 18 or Last Verse. The 121 Psalm was Sung m^r Crocker preacht on Buring Island after Came On Board Rec^d Orders For Cap^t Warner to go on Board Col^o Richmond att 3 of y^e Clock and Carry the orders he Rec^d Ap^l y^e 19th which Cap^t Warner Perform'd

In y^e afternoone Cap^t Warner was att meeting On Board Col^o Richmond and heard the Rev^d m^r Warlter¹ The Lieu^t and I wth Some Others went on Board Col^o Chandler and heard the Rev^d m^r Baulch from Mathew VIII 21 & 22^d Versres Sung first y^e 2 first Staves & $\frac{1}{2}$ in y^e 34 Psalm and $\frac{1}{2}$ Stave in Doc^t Wats's hymns M^r Newmarch Preacht in y^e afternoone on Burying Island from 1 Kings 20 Chap & 11 Verse The Perscatua Privateer Lying near us our People heard the Text which was from Acts 3 & 9th

29th Came To Sail for Cape Breton about 6 in y^e morning wind att N W 100 and Odd Sail in Company: a Brisk Gale a While and then Calm till about Sunset and Then y^e wind freshend up. Spy'd Several Whale &c Looks Like Settled weather: The wind in y^e Evening att N N W Took up a Letter floating

¹ Nathaniel Walter (H. C. 1729), minister of the Second Parish in Roxbury, and chaplain of the Second Massachusetts Regiment.

30th about 10 Clock Came To anchor in Chappeau Rouge Bay and Ordered To Land y^e men as Quick as Possible: But in y^e morning as Soone as they Spy'd our fleet y^e fir'd att all their Batterys Immediately on Anchoring Landed But before we Landed Saw an army Sally out of y^e Town in order To Defeat us in Landing but our Privateers Play'd with Great Guns But our men y^e first got on shore killd four frenchmen one a Lieu^t and Took Captive One Col^l & a Cap^t & Three of our men wounded y^e money &c Comitted to Cap^t melvin Left five men on Board: and this Day killd and Took Captive that we know off 17 frenchmen Three of our men wounded But None killd y^e we know off Took five Cows killd Three of them

May y^e 1st 1745 Breckfasted on milk where we Lay which was within Two miles of y^e Citty of Louisburgh

Last night about Sunset I went on The Top of y^e hill where we fir'd about 14 Shots att y^e french and they fir'd from y^e Citty Battery att us the Shot flew over our heads They fir'd Several Guns in y^e Night Last night our watch Last night killd Several French men and Took Some Captive They Burned Several of their owne houses

May y^e 1st 1745 Several Horses killd By our men and Some Took alive a Great Number of Cattle killd and Taken by our men: The Gen^l Came on Shore a Number of French Taken & our men Some of our men went into an house and Plundred y^e Same This Day The french Sunk Several of their owne Vessels and Burnt Some Their Boats Continually Passing as we Think To Carry off their Treasures: in y^e afternoone an army of our men of about 500 went into y^e woods 17 of our Company went with them Plundred Several houses: I Saw a french men Ly Dead y^e was killd & our watch Last night

May y^e 2^d Our Army Returnd that went out yesterday with the following Success they went To a Village at y^e head of a Cove & Burnt all y^e Dwelling Houses & Waer Houses and a Vast Deal of Treasure Some Treasure they Brought home Took Two french men Several french men Taken this Day and Two french women and a Verry Handsom Child about 12 months old Several horses Taken This Day Took y^e Grand Battery The french had Remov'd and Stopt all y^e Tutchholes of their great guns and Cast their Powder into the water The Enemy in y^e Town and Island Battery kept Throwing their Bums att our People in y^e Grand Battery Surpriz'd in y^e night By Several Shots in the night which we Supposed were from y^e Enemy Imbody'd & Drawd up near The Generals Tent Rec^d Orders To Remove about a mile further off from y^e Town Least we Should be Dstroy'd by Bums or Shots out of The Town before night we Removed & Incamped between The Gen^l and Col^l Willards Camps in y^e Night Surpriz'd by Several guns That was Shot att one of our Centrys and four Bullet holes makes in his Blankit

May The 3^d 1745 Several french men Taken Our men Put One of the Cannon in y^e Grand Battery To Play and fir'd Several Shots att y^e Citty walls y^e Enemy keep Continually Firing with their Cannon Morter P^{ces} &c: from y^e Citty & Island Battery Our men keep Continually Plundering Several Horses Cows &c Brought in The morter p^{ces} Carriages &c Carry'd this Day and Planted against the Citty we are Informd that Comod^r Warrin has Taken Two Storeships we are Informd y^e One of our men fell on y^e Rocks and was kill'd in the after noone those of our men y^e were fixing y^e Battery for our morter p^{ces} were Surpriz'd by the Enemy's Sallying out of y^e Town when the News Came about 500 of us marcht To y^e Relief of our men and when we Came The Enemy had Retreated about 1 of the Clock at night Col^l Willard Came To our Camp and Orderd us To Send 10 men with an officer To join wth others in Guarding y^e Artillery Serg^t Goodfrey & others sent we hear y^e old [Captain] morepang is in y^e woods wth a Guard of Thirty men & he is wounded

May y^e 4th Ordered To muster on y^e hill at 8 o'clock in y^e morning mustered wth y^e whole Batalian Ordered Cap^t Warner To Take 6 men out of every Company in Col^l Willards Regim^t To Guard y^e People Sent To Carry Powd^r to y^e Grand Battery 6 of our Company Ordered To go To y^e Guard of y^e Artillery in the afternoone Our men from the Grand Battery fir'd 92 od Cannon and the Enemy in the meane Time fir'd Two Bums about y^e middle of y^e afternoone Our morter P^{ces} Began To Play flung Sume Bums into y^e Citty One french man Taken this Day not One of our men killd that I know off Several more Captives Taken fir'd from the Grand Battery this Day 91 in y^e night 15 of our men Sent To The Artillery I gave a Receipt for 2 barrels Bread & one of pork

may y^e 5th Sunday I with 5 more went To the Artillery To y^e Relief of our men while I was there our men fir'd Several Bums 2 went Direct into y^e Citty The Enemy fir'd att us But did not hurt any of us Our men from y^e Grand Battery Began before night to fire To the Citty y^e Enēy from y^e Island Battery flung their Bums But they Cheifly Broke in the air: one of y^e Cannon in our Battery Broke and wounded y^e Gunner and 4 men more Several Captives Taken this Day They Inform us That morepang headed the army y^e Came against us at Landing and was Shot Thro' y^e Thigh and Thirty men Took into y^e woods and Tarry'd with him Till he Died | But he is not Dead yet

One of y^e Gen^{ls} men Died who went into an house To plunder and killd himself with Drink Eleven Captives Taken Some men Some women Two frenchmen killd Our men Came upon them in the woods where they had Carryd their Goods out of y^e Citty our men Inform us that their is goods Sufficient To Load 2 Vessels Besides Two Bags of gold They Left above 20 men To Guard the Goods and^c

may y^e 6th In y^e morning mustered & Sent 15 men To y^e Artillery N B when we Saild from Canso part of our fleet went To S^t peters & S^t Johns Last Night they Came To us & Informd us that they had Taken S^t Peters The People Cheifly fled and made their Escape the Rest they Took Captive They Loaded all their Vessels and Then Burned the Buildings and they Burn'd 1000 Bushels of wheat in One house Cap^t Jaquis was Killd & one more The man that was wounded the 23^d of Ap^r Dead. Several french killd att S^t Peters

Several Captives Taken &c we heard Several Guns in y^e Town

May y^e 7th in the morning news Came To y^e Camps y^e y^e Enemy had Issued out of y^e Town y^e Army Rallyd but when we Came y^e Enemy had Retreated when we Returned I went To y^e Comissary Winslow and got One hogshead of Bread weighed 3-2⁰⁰⁰

One Barrel of pork

I gave a Receipt for y^e Same in y^e afternoone I went wth Some Others To y^e Head of y^e Bay on Board our Transport: This Day we Sent a Flag of Truce But the Enemy Refuse Delivering y^e Citty but by the Point of y^e Sword The Cannon Bums Cohorns &c Continually Roaring on Boath Sides Women and Children heard to Scream and Cry out in y^e Citty when our Bums Came amongst them Yesterday Comodore Warrin Came on Shore and offer'd us 600 men well Disciplind To Join us in Scaleing y^e walls: he was Pleas'd To tell us y^e y^e Day we Entred the Citty of Luisburgh he would Expend on y^e Land army 500 and on y^e Sea forces 500 more out of his owne Estate: Took a Small Town and 25 french Captives: Cap^t Warner Taken Sick

8th Wrote home mustered in the Forenoone Two of our men Listed To go att night To help Take y^e Island Battery I gave a Receipt to M^r Winslow for 6 gallons of Rhum

9th in y^e afternoone y^e Enemy Came out of y^e Citty and Ingaged with our men wounded Three of our men But our men Proved too hard for the Enemy and Drove them into y^e Citty

May y^e 9th 1745 Serg^t Willson and I went into Several houses: the Cannon Bums & Cohorns Continually Roaring on Both Sides Three of our men wounded att y^e Green hill By a Cannon Ball One mans Leg Broke by an Axidental Shot in the afternoone Beat To arms in Order To Scale y^e Citty Walls: The army mustered But fearing the Enemy was Sensable of the Attack: Did not Proceed: the Three of our men that was wound^d with a Cannon Ball One Both Legs Cut of One Lost p^t of thigh Leg and all One Lost one Arm y^e man y^e Lost both Legs Died in a Short Time One man wounded by his Serg^t Axidentally 6 inches of the main Bone of his Leg Carry'd away it is

Thought by the Doctor he will not Recover. One of our Company viz: Ephraim Proctor had his Gun Cut in Two by a Cannon Ball: The Cannons &c Roaring all Day

May yf: 10th 1745 In y^e morning I went To Commissary Winslow and gave a Receipt for 5:½ gallons Rum. Last night 19 of our men Killd by the Indians Twenty five french Captives Brought in this Day by our men Some men Some Women Some Children The Cannon Roaring all Day the Cheif of y^e Bums fird by the Enemy this Day Broke in the Air.

N B there was 21 or 22 killd Eleven of them was Taken and after was killd Scalped and Chopt and Stab'd & Prodigiously mangled our men Bury'd y^e Bodys of 17

May yf: 11th 1745 a Verry Cold night Last Night Snow'd This Day Exceeding Cold Snow'd Some I Gave Commissary Winslow a Receipt for 6 gallons of Rhum and One Bushel of peas Seventeen of y^e men killd yesterday Buried To Day Two Villages Burnt & our men with all y^e Goods &c:

May yf: 12th Sunday: Somewhat Cold and windy: in y^e afternoone went To meeting heard y^e Rev^d M^r Baulch from these words & thou art weigh'd in y^e Ballances & found wanting we were Exhorted to be allways Ready allways To have acc^{ts} even the Bums Cannons &c Continually Roaring night and Day

13th monday: Two Guns att y^e Fa Sheene [Fascine] Battery Burst five men wound^d one his Leg Carry'd away &c: I was Taken wth Fever and flux a french Snow Came in above 100 Cannon fird in ab^t half an hour

14 Tuesday Not any Thing Remark^{bl} The Cannon Continually Roaring a Verry Cold Boisterous Day

15 Wensday above 300 Cannon fird one man wounded by a Bum One of our Cannon almost spoilt By a Cannon Ball sent & y^e En^r and Struck her in y^e muzzle. one man killd Cap^t Hale of Newbury Dead Occasioned by a wound Rec^d by a Bum

16 Thursday The Cannon &c Continually Roaring Remov'd our Tent about ½ mile nearer y^e Citty Remov'd Sever^l of our men To y^e Hospital Isaac Kent Jon^s Lakin¹ & Stephen Barron² Came on Shore y^e man Died y^e was wounded wth a Bum Serg^t Woods Put in Irons and Confind all nigt I Took working Phuysick

17 Fryday we had about 50 men Building a Battery near y^e Light house and 100 french Came upon them and killd one of Col^l Gorehams

¹ Jonathan Lakin was a Groton soldier, born on April 28, 1719, and a kinsman of Lieutenant Bradstreet through his wife, who was a Lakin. He died at Louisburg on September 1, 1745, where the diarist watched with him to the last.

² Stephen Barron also was a Groton soldier, and is mentioned several times in these pages.

Indians our men Boldly fac'd them and wounded their Cap^t and Took him they Crossed y^e water in y^e night But our men got their Canoes and keep y^e Ground Several Rec^d Letters from their wives but I Think I Did not Receive any

18 *Saturday*. The fasheene [fascine] Batt^e near viz^t within 40 Rods of y^e west Gate and Divers 42 pound^r wth were brought from the Grand Batt^e mounted y^e Began to Play Beat Down y^e Gate and Draw Bridge our men get under y^e walls & when ever y^e Enemy Look over they fire them Down: Cap^t Peirce¹ killd this Day by a Cannon Ball Thr^o his Bowels he Livd a Qu^r of an hour and then Died his Death is Greatly Lamented Severel 5 killd this Day I had y^e fever all Day We have Thirty Sick in our Com^y

19 *Sabbath* Above 500 Cannon fird this Day Several men killd Several wound^d Some killd by Splitting of a Cannon Some Burnt Badly by a barrel of Powders Catching fire. in y^e after noone a french man of war Appeard a 64 gun Ship Co^modore Warrin with his Ships went out and met her they were heard by us To fight y^e Bigger part of y^e night we Saw the first of it a Bad fever all Day

20th Nothing Remarkable but y^e Seige Still Continues: I had an Exceeding ill Day

21 Cap^t Tyng Came in and Brought the Joyfull Tydings that y^e Co^modore had Taken the french man of war without y^e Loss of a man: and that the Co^modore had fitted her out and they were in Pursuit of y^e Rest of the French fleet: Some French and Indians Spy'd Driving of Cattle our men are gone in Pursuit Some of our men Came in with Ten French Captives and they Inform us that y^e Enemy had Dugg up the Bodys of y^e 17 persons Bury'd the Tenth of this Instant and Burnt them: Towards Night Notice being given their was Three Huzzas att y^e Gen^l Tent Three att each of y^e fashines Three att y^e Grand Battery and Co^modore Warrin att y^e Same Time Came in the Prize man of war into the mouth of Louisburg Harbur under french Colours and then Hoisted English Colours above y^e french and gave Three Huzzas

22 This Day Serg^t James Carley Died and a 60 gun Ship Came in and jion'd our fleet wth was verry Rejoycing

The man of war Taken y^e 21 instant had 4 months Provision for y^e City of Louisburg 300 Souldiers 1000 Barrels of Powd^r 20 Brass Cannon Rigging for a 70 gun Ship that is Building att Canady and Ord^r were when ever their forces were got Together To Settle Canso and then Take Port Royal and Drive y^e Eastward Parts as far as Perscatua

¹ Joshua Pierce, the senior captain of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, in which Lieutenant Bradstreet was serving.

23^d. This Day The Cap^t and I were So well we went as far as Col^o Mooers and Cap^t Easmans

It is Thought [¶] the Cap^t that the L^t is Become a Right Tippler

24 The People Return'd y^e went Last Night To y^e Attack of the Island Battery This is y^e 6th attempt of y^e Nature To no Purpose firing off att Sea this day The french Cap^t Died this Day that was wounded & Taken y^e 17 Day he offered Ten Thousand Pounds for a fryar To Pardon his Sins before he died and I would have done it my Self as well as any fryar or Priest Living for $\frac{1}{2}$ y^e money This Day went To Cap^t Stevens and Drink't New England Cyder and Eat Toast & Cyder Exceeding Cold I was Taken wth y^e Bloody flux

25th Pleasant Day the woods got on fire which had Like To have Destroyd many Tents The Cannon Play Briskly on our Side But But [*sic*] few from the Enemy

Cap^t Melvin with a Comp^y went a Scouting after Indians at Night. Returnd with y^e foll^y Success They Came on a Camp of Six french men they killd One Took 3 Captive one of w^{ch} was wound^d They had Some Cloaths Catridge boxes and other accutrements that they had Taken from our men that were Killd y^e 10th of this Instant one that was Taken Informs us That he was a Serv^t belongd To a Town not far from us and his master about 6 Days ago Turn'd him out To Look for his owne Sustinance haveing nothing of his owne To Support him W^m Tho^t Drunk

26 Sunday a Pleasant Day in y^e forenoone M^r Balch Preacht from y^e 3^d verse of y^e Epistle of Jude Sung y^e 2 Last Stanzies & $\frac{1}{2}$ in y^e 118 ps. in y^e afternoon Preacht from Prov: 12 26: Sung 2 Last Stanzies & $\frac{1}{2}$ in y^e 11 Ps: y^e men of war all Came along in a Line of Battle The men y^e were Inlisted went in Order To attack the Island Battery in the morning a Comp^y of about 150 went a Scouting after Indians 290 went To y^e attack of y^e Island Battery Cap^t melvin headed the above Scout

27 monday in the morning we had the malencolly news of the overthrow of our men that went Last night To y^e attack of the Island Battery when they Came they found y^e Enemy Prepard for their Coming alltho it was Between 12 & 1 at night w^{ch} gives Cause To think y^e Enemy were Appriz'd of their Comeing the Enemy playd with Cannon upon the Boates which Destroyd Several Boates and Left the men floating on the water Several Boates Landed their men But y^e Enemy being Prepard Slew them at a Strange Rate Some of our men after they fir'd all their Catridges Retreated got into their Boates and made their Escape but Some were killd after they had got into y^e Boates Some Boates Stove against y^e Rocks Some run a Drift Some of our men fought manfully Till about Sunrise and it is generally Thought their was 150 of our men Lost att y^e Least pray g^d Sanctify

this heavy frown of his Providence To us all Cap^t Noble and Company Came in this Day with 9 french Captives they had Taken and found One of our men they had Taken Some time ago Lying Dead verry much Cut and mangled he was but Just Dead the Enemy had murdered him: and by Examination we are Inform^d that y^e Ene^r were 8 Dayes in killing one of our men and when he was Dead Obligd One of our men to eat a part of him

28 *Tuesday* Foggy a Great Part of the Day our Cañon Play Briskly One of our men had the end of his yard Shot off. y^e Bloody flux Still Continues

29th *Wensday* a miserable Election¹: But y^e Pleasantist Day we have had Since we Left N: England The Cannon &c play verry Briskly But we have this Day y^e malencholly news of y^e Loss of Several of our men their was 400 of them in the woods They Came upon 100 french & 80 Indians they had Several Shallops Loaded with fresh Beef and they Intended Last Night to have Brought it Down to y^e Citty But our men Came upon them and they fought 6 hours and killd Several viz: 6 or Eight of our men Two Cap^{tn} and in all their is 30 killd and wounded Several mortally wounded they Rcov^d y^e Bodies of 12 french men & Saw where y^e Indians had Drag'd away their Dead Took One frenchman

30th *Thursday* Foggy Cloudy &c: This Day our men fird Briskly & Cut Down y^e french flag The Comodore Sent Two Letters To y^e General I went Down To y^e water Side and bought a fresh Cod wth made a fine Supper and Breckfast: The Bloody flux Left me One of our french Captives Inform us that The french & Indians are forming into a Body To Come upon us: Several Bums This Day hove into y^e Citty Two of their Amboshers Beat Down The Enemy keep Continually Digging within y^e walls att Night Isaac Kent went upon the Grand Guard which is y^e first Duty he has Done Col^o Chandler Sent To me for an Acc^t of y^e Number of the Sick in our Company which was 23 and the N^o on Duty which was 4 at y^e furthestmost fasheene

31 *Fryday* Foggy in y^e morning I gave Col^o Chandler an attested acc^t of the Sick in our Company which was 19 The Number on Duty 2 One att y^e fasheene One with Cap^t Melvin going on a Scoute with him after Indians Cap^t Melvin Defers going till tomorrow morning Ten Captives Brought in 7 men and Three women They had eat no Bread for Ten Days They Inform us that there was 32 French & Indians killd in y^e Ingagement The 28th Instant and 40 wounded Our People found 12 Guns on the Ground where the Ingagement was: they Likewise Inform us that Their was 6 of their men killd in y^e Ingagement with Col^o Gorham the 17th Instant This Day made an

¹ Referring to Election Day at home in Massachusetts, which fell on the last Wednesday of May.

Apprizal of the Effects Serg^t James Carley Died Seizd off. an Irish man Taken this Day it is Thot he had bin in y^e Citty he Belongs To One of our Companys and it is Thot he has Practis'd going into y^e Citty every Oppertunity Since he has bin here he is now in Irons

June y^e 1 1745 Saturday Foggy Cloudy Thick weather a Vessel Came that was Sent by y^e General To Port Royal but when they Came to y^e Narrows the Indians fir'd att them above 200 Shots and 9 Canoes Came off So that they were Oblig'd To Run: a Ship and Snow Taken by our men of war Cap^t Melvin went out with a Company on a Scout 3 of our Company with him The Cap^t and I went To Cap^t Easmans House which is within Musket Shot of y^e Citty we Tarry'd all night

2^d Sunday Cloudy we went To Several Houses then Returnd To Cap^t Easmans and he went with us and we went into I Beleive above 20 Houses Then we went To the Grand Battery and heard a Sermon from Amos 4-12 Those words Prepare To Meet thy god O Israel The Grand Battery is the Strongest Place that ever my eyes Beheld Stephen Barron Drunk Strawberrys full in y^e Blow A Brig-ganteen Taken by our men of war

3 Monday Rainy Cloudy &c in the morning then Pleasent weather Cap^t Dunahew Brought a mortar and 2 Beds for y^e same from Boston at night y^e mortar and One bed were Carry'd To Cap^t Easmans fasheene Battery: a Sloop from Canada Loaded with Provisions had Like To have got into y^e Harbur But one of our Vessels Came So hard after her that She Run a Shore near y^e Light house and y^e men got on Shore wth their arms and fir'd att our men when they was getting off y^e Vessel but To no porpose our men got off y^e Vessel Safe: and Brought her in the Others are gone in Pursuit of the Enemy wrote home

4 Tuesday Fine weather as Soone as Day Light Appear'd we were Surpriz'd by Several Vallyes of Small Arms Down att y^e Citty but it Prov'd To be our owne men Shott Two Vallyes & the Enemy One Two Vessels Taken this Day by our Shipping:

Cap^t Melvin Returnd with following Success: They killd Two french men and Brought in Seventeen Captives I went To y^e Comissarys and gave a Receipt for a Barrel of pork and 80 weight of Bread this Day our men Began To fire hot Bullets To the Citty. their was Letters on Board the french Sloop y^t Came from Canada y^t was Taken yesterday That gave an Acc^t that their was 1000 french and Indians gone To Attack Anappolis and Cap^t Rouse Cap^t Tyng Cap^t Snelling are gone from us To their assistance Last night a french man Came out of y^e Citty & Deliv^d himself To our men and Upon Examination he Declares that their is 106 of our men y^t was Lost att y^e Island Battery Prisoners in y^e Citty & that their is about 800 fighting men in the Citty and that their is Divers in the Citty would be Glad To Del^v themselves to our men if they knew they should have Quarter

5 *Wensday* fine weather Till Towards night and att night Rain^d This Day Came in a Small Sloop from Canso and Inform us that on the 25th of may 800 french and Indians Came from Anapolis To y^e Assist-
ance of Cape Breton att night I went Cap^t of y^e Grand guard with
19 men Three of y^e men being found asleep on y^e gaurd we Took
their guns

[*Two pages of the Diary here gone.*]

[*June 8*] . . . Ship and y^e Gov^r Knowing the Hand writeing were
Exceeding Sorrowfull and he heard Divers of Souldiers and Co^mon Sort
of people Say we are gone: the men women and Children followed him
in Doves: he Saw 360 Souldiers on the Parade in arms he Likewise
Informs us that above 100 of our men y^e were att y^e Island Battery
were Prisoners in y^e Citty and that their is no Such thing as Scaleing
y^e walls But gives Great Incouragement Concerning our Takeing the
place if we have a Stock of Powder

In y^e morning the French fird out of their Barracks verry fast a man
was Rideing y^e Road and Had his heel Taken away by a Cannon Ball
and the horses Guts Lett out

9th *Sunday* Rain'd in the morning I watched $\frac{1}{2}$ y^e night Last night
The Enemy Cast Three Bums att our People but Did not hurt any of our
men: Last night Two Zwits [Swiss] Came out of the Citty with their
arms and Delivered themselves To our men and they Inform us that
yesterday One of their Souldiers had a Design To have Disserted and
Come to us and had a Letter from One of our men that is a Prisoner in
y^e Citty To Bring to his friends But he being Discovered they Hanged
him Directly they Likewise Inform us that the Enemy have but 150
barrels of Powder: they Inform'd Likewise that many in the Citty
would be Glad To Come Out and Deliver themselves to us: they Like-
wise Inform us when we Came they had 600 Sould^r when we Came
and now they had but about 500 they Says that if our Bumaueer had
held On Casting his Bums into y^e Citty a Fryday and they att Major
Titcoms Battery had fird Briskly he Beleives they would have Deliv-
ered up the Citty in about an hour more This Day we Carry'd Casks
from the Old Stores to wall in Our Citty Occasioned by News from y^e
Zwits That their was an Army of french and Indians Comeing upon us
a Verry Cold Day this Day. they y^e Zwits Inform us That had all
our Boates Landed att y^e Island Battery they would Surrend^r them
Selves But Seeing Some of our Boates Retreat Incouraged the Enemy
It is Thought our men of war are in an Ingagement
The Zwits Inform us that they in the Citty had not had their Cloaths
off Since we Came

June 10th monday fair weather Early in the morning Cap^t War-
ner Cap^t Willard Clerk Patterson & I went Down to y^e Grand Battery
and Major Titcoms Battery and into Sundry Houses we went into the

Towers in the Grand Battery Saw Several Beautifull women Taken Some Time ago: wee went above the Grand Battery To the Village That our men Burnt The first Day of may a man Cut in Two by a Cannon Ball att y^e Light house Battery and another wounded Yesterday a fifty Gun Ship Came & Joind our men of war they Brought with them a french Privateer they had Taken and Three Dayes ago they parted with Two 60 gun Ships Comeing To our Assistance Two men wounded by a Small Shott att y^e fasciene Battery next y^e wall went up the Bay and Got a boat and 2 beds we found The Strawberrys full in the Blow

June 11th fair weather: & Coronation Day in the morning The whole Batalia was Calld by the Beat of y^e Drums To prayers att Twelve we were Rally'd by the Beat of y^e Drums and Excercised and Drank the Kings health the Gen^l went on Board the Comodore before night Return'd att night all Rally'd by y^e Beat of y^e Drums To Prayers: Comeing Back from pray^r Saw men Burying a Young man.

June y^e 12th fine weather Col^o Willard Sent for me and Ordered me to go wth y^e Adjatant Hobart To y^e Advance Battery and To y^e Several Cap^{tns} there and Take an Account of all y^e able Bodyd men that were there and Besides The Sick & wounded we found Belonging to Col^o Willards Regim^t 158 we were Setting Divers of us By Cap^t Easmans fire I was writeing and there Came a Cannon Ball and Struck y^e Chimney and made y^e fire and Soot Fly att a Strange Rate Adjatant Hobart¹ got up & Run. A man wounded by a Bum this Day y^e flesh of his Buttock Carryd away

[June] 13 I Lay att Cap^t Easmans in y^e morning Our Bumaneer Cast Three Bums into or Near the Ambzriers Belonging To y^e Enem^y after Breckfast we went into our Advance Battery which is within about 30 Rods of y^e Citty and The Enemy fird with Small Arms. The Bullets flew on Every Side: I had a verry fair Shot att One of y^e Enemy: in the afternoone L^t Webster Came with us To our Camps: Three men of war viz^t 2 60 Guns and One 40 Gun Ship Came and Joind our fleet they Took Three Ships and Brought in wth them Removed our Tent this Day Within our walls: the Enemy fird from their Barracks with small arms: the mortar Remov^d To y^e Light House in Order To Play upon y^e Island Battery

14 fine weather L^t webster with Some of our Company went afishing Catchced a fine parcel of fish a man Died that was wounded By a shot from y^e Enemy Before Night went Down Towards y^e Citty To Cap^t Easmans and A Switzer Came Back wth me: Three of our men went on Board one of the men of war 5 Zwits in a Shallaway Disserted and went on Board Our Comodore

¹ Jonathan Hobart, a Groton soldier, was the adjutant of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment. For a reference to him, see the introduction to this journal.

The 15th Day. our Bumaneer Cast from y^e Light House 8 Bums into y^e Island Battery y^e People viz: y^e Enemy Run out of y^e Battery into y^e water up to their middles: The Enemy in y^e Citty were Drawd into a Body and our People from Titcoms Battery fird 5 42 Pounders and Cut Down Two Ranks of y^e Enemy

15 Went in y^e morning To y^e Advance Battery and Returnd before noone On the Return the whole Army Drawd into a Batalia the Coñodore and Genl Came and Veiw'd us & the Coñodore made a Speech and Told us we Could not Take y^e Citty with y^e Land forces neither Could he wth y^e Sea forces without y^e assistance of each Other and Advised us To Join and y^e first Easterly wind he would Come in by Sea and we by Land and Try it out: Before Sun Set a Flag of Truce Came out of y^e Citty Last night The Enemy Cast 45 Bums att our People But To no Porpose The Flag of Truce Came with a Request in Writeing for a Cessation of arms Till they might hold a Council of War for they s^d the English Play'd So Smart that they Could not hold a Council y^e Genl and Admiral gave them Till To morrow morning 7 or 8 oClock

16 *Sunday:* Cloudy Foggy weather After Prayers The flag of Truce Came out of the Citty about 12 of y^e Clock the flag of Truce Returnd after they had agreed on y^e following Articles viz if y^e Enemy would Surrender up y^e Citty To give them their Goods and To furnish them with Vessels To Carry Them to Old France and in Case they Comply'd they were to Send Hostages by Six oClock in the after noone they ask Liberty To Settle on this Island or Canady or Some of the Adjacent Islands But it was not Granted

and in Case they Do not Comply The fleet To go in by Sea and all our forces by Land Imediately & To have a fair Tryal The Genl went off Crying: Before night A Genl Came out of y^e Citty and Deliv^d himself as a Hostage & The Citty To be Deliv^d on y^e morrow

June 17th monday Cloudy in the fore part of y^e Day in the Latter part Rained: in the morning after prayers Rally'd &c Rallyd a Second Time and then Several Regim^{ts} with y^e Genl L^t Genl Brigadeers &c Advanced Towards the Citty To Take Possession

N B: Admiral Warrin went into the Harbour with all his Ships in y^e morning and Saluted y^e Citty By fireing our People Took Possession of the Island Battery Last Night

When our Army Marcht To y^e Citty the Colours were flying the Drums Beating Trumpets Sounding Flutes & Vials Playing Col^o Bradstreet¹ att y^e Head of the Army The Genl L^t Genl and Gentry in y^e Rear. y^e French men and women & Children on y^e Parade they Lookt verry sorrowfull I went into y^e Citty and then Retreated and Came Back To our old Citty: [*Two pages are here gone.*]

¹ Colonel Bradstreet was an Englishman by birth, but probably not akin to the diarist.

20 *Thursday* Rainny Cloudy and foggy weather W^m Thomas was Drunk I went allround y^e Citty walls and Saw all y^e Cannon Bum Morters &c

21 *Fryday* Cloudy Rainny & Foggy weather Remov'd our Sick To an house near y^e Citty & Two men To nurse them

22 *Saturday* Rainny Cloudy & foggy weather Eighteen French men made their Escape out of y^e Citty Cap: Warner Cap: Willard Clerk Patterson and I went into y^e Barracks or Cittydal and when we were in y^e Chappel there was a man aloft and y^e upper part Being verry much Broke by our Cannon Balls it gave way & and [*sic*] a Cannon Ball with Boards Came Down and had Like To have Struck Clerk Patterson & my Self and the man hung by his arms By a Joyce

23^d *Sunday* Rainny Cloudy & foggy weather The 18 french men that made their Escape yesterday Brought in with their arms Snap-Sacks Provision &c and were Comitted To Prison M^r Moody¹ Preacht in the forenoone att y^e Camps from Prov: 8:6 M^r Langdall Preacht in the afternoone from Heb: 3:13 The Artillery Removd from y^e fasciene Batterys

24th *Monday* Rainny Cloudy & Foggy weather Cap: Rouse Came in but Did not know y^e place was Taken till he Sent his Boates on Shore att y^e Camps

25th *Tuesday* Rainny Foggy & Cloudy weather Cap: Rouse Came into Louisbourg and Brought 2 Bum Morters and 250 Cannon:

26th *Wensday* fine weather:

27th *Thursday* Cloudy Foggy & Rain'd Exceeding hard Some Time we Remov'd Down To y^e Houses

28th *Fryday* Foggy &c Oliver Green² Died and was Buried Five mareens was whipt I wrote home

29th *Saturday* Wet weather: I went into The Citty

30th *Sunday* M^r Moody Preacht att y^e Chappel in y^e fore Part of the Day and m^r Crocker in the after part in y^e fore part I wrote To my wife in y^e after part went To meeting the Text was Psalm 56:12.

July 1 monday Fair weather

July 2^d Tuesday Cloudy &c: A Comp^r Came in and Some of them Came to our house before they knew y^e place was Taken I went into y^e City with them

3 *Wensday*: a man of war Came in wth 200 Souldiers To Carry To Annoppolis To Release our men Sent there Last Summer Yesterday

¹ Samuel Moody (H. C. 1697), minister of York, Maine.

² A Groton soldier. According to "The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register" (XXV. 266) for July, 1871, he was a private in Captain Jonathan Smith's company in the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment (Colonel Joseph Dwight). Judging from the familiar names, there were other soldiers from Groton and neighborhood, who belonged in that company.

W^m Tho^t being in y^e Citty in Drink and Threatened a woman that he would knock her Down if She would not give him Liq^r he was Put under a guard and kept all night in the morning brought Before Col^t Willard and Ordered into y^e Citty To be Tryed by a Court martial Several Vessels went out Some for france with Transports & Some to New England

July 4th Thursday Several Vessels went out Some for France with Transports &c: I went a Strawbering

July 5th Fryday a wild Cow and Calf Came out of y^e woods Several went in Pursuit I went Till I was Out of Breath and then Returned: Cop^t Lakin Ordered Stephen Barron To Guard y^e Arms and he Told him To Kiss his ass for which he was Ordered To Ride the Pickets an hour

the men That went after y^e Cow Return'd and Brought y^e Cow but Lost y^e Calf Col^t Choate Came from New England with Two Companys of men

July 6th 1745 Fine Growing weather In y^e Morning Several of us went in Pursuit of y^e Calf y^e Belonged to y^e Cow y^e was Brought in yesterday But Could not find it: heard Several Guns Towards y^e Head of y^e Bay

Cap^t Rouse Saild for London for Recruits and y^e Council Sent for 9555 = $\frac{8}{2} : \frac{6}{6}$ Sterling To Repair y^e Breaches our Cannon Bums &c had made in y^e Walls Barracks Store Houses & Hospitalls and magaziens: Upon his Sailing the men of warr fir'd a Great Number of Guns Cap^t Snelling Came from N England with Souldiers

July 7th Sunday fine weather M^r Moody Preacht in the forenoone in y^e Chappel in y^e Barracks in y^e Citty in y^e afternoon M^r Williams Preacht m^r Baulch Preacht in y^e Suburbs in y^e afternoone From 1 Pet^r 3: 19: 20 Sung 2 Last Staves in y^e 84 Ps: Sang 2 Last Staves in y^e 73 Ps: Two men of Warr went out on a Cruse Some Vessels Came in

8 *monday* fine weather Nine Cap^ts viz One out of a Regiment Being a Com^{te} went To Search y^e Vessels: I went wth them: we found in Iron Brass &c: To y^e Vallue 7 or 8 Hundred pounds & Brought it On Shore: Cap^t Dunnahews Vessel Came in with y^e following Sorrowfull Tydings: Viz They were in y^e Gut of Canso And Seven Indians Discover'd themselves with a Flag of Truce and Cap^t Dunnahew with all his officers Save One: Their Being Twelve in all went on Shoar and their Started up about 200 Indians and fir'd upon Cap^t Dunnahew & Company and Distroyd them all and Burnt their Bodys: The above was Done June 29th

9th *Tuesday* fine weather y^e Reg^t mustered and marcht Towards the South gate as far as y^e Powder plott and their Dismiss'd this Day Came a french man from S^t Johns and had Cap^t Dunnahews Ring on

his finger and Brought News that alltho' Cap^t Dunnaheew was killd and four more yet there was Seven alive: But they was wounded Began To work at y^e west gate in Order to Rebuild the Same

10th Cloudy went a Searching Vessels and found Considerable of Iron &c: I wrote home Last month I wrote home Twice But Did not Enter y^e Same

11th *Thursday* fine weather a Number went To Raising Vessels I went wth them we Raid a Scooner new: y^e never had bin to Sea She is about 40 Tuns This is y^e Third vessel has bin Weighed: a Number wth our Com^{tee} which Consists of nine Cap^{ts} viz One out of a Regiment our Cap^t being One of y^e Com^{tee} went To y^e Grand Battery and in Searching they found of Iron Clothing &c Considerable

12 *Fryday* fine weather One Vessel Rais'd Considerable Plunder brought from On Board y^e Vessels: Several Shallops Came in wth french &c:

13 *Saturday* fine weather went in Search of Plunder and brought Several boat Loads of Barr Iron Cables Spikes &c on Shore out of a Vessel 30 Sterling found by One of y^e Com^{tee}: Several Shallops of french Came in Wood Sloops Came in

14 *Sunday* Cloudy Rainny &c: in the morning: afterwards fine weather: in the forenoon m^r Williams Preacht in y^e Chappel from 1 Chron: V 18: 19: 20: 21: & 22: Sung The 20th PS: In y^e afternoone m^r Fair weather Preacht from 1 Chron: 11 & 13 verses Sung 2 first staves & $\frac{1}{2}$ in y^e 18 Psal: News Came in this Day that Cap^t Fletcher who went in his Privateer To Guard our wood Sloops hath Taken a french Privateer y^e Came out of Canada & they Inform us y^e y^e Ship that was Chast by our Privateers when we Lay att Canso Ap^l 18 19 &c Came into Canda 32 Days ago & had Taken Cap^t Smothers: Several Shallops of french Came in:

15 *monday* fine weather in y^e morning Cap^t Warner Cap^t Willard & mySelf with Others went To y^e N E Harbour I went Round To y^e Light House went up into y^e Lanthorn it is a magnificent Building: from y^e Bottom To y^e Lanthorn is 72 Steps y^e Lanthorn is 14 feet Glass a Bason of Copper in the Lanthorn full of oil 23 Wicks in y^e Oil the Bason will hold above $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel the Light house Excepting y^e glass is Bum Proof We Took up 2 Shallops: Cap^t Tyng Came in: Sev^l of us found a C f & I eat a fine Supper of V—I

16 *Tuesday*: the Sun arose Clear: but Soone Clouded and foggy Several Vessels Came in from N England with Sould^r 500 in all I Rec^d a Letter from my D^r wife

17 *wensday* fine weather 8 of our men Dismissed viz L^t En^a 2 Serg^{ts} 1 Cop^t 1 Stew: 2 more The Com^{tee} & I went with them in Search after Cattle found 5 horses 3 Cows Dealt allowance of Rum for four Days Exclusive of this Day

18 *Thursday* Thanksgiving m^r Williams preacht from I Deliv^d 6 Days allowance of meat To every mess & One Days allowance of Peas: a Sheep Deliv^d to each Comp^y and pint of wine to Each man¹ Our Sheep would have bin (after y^e Guts had bin Taken out) more Suitable for a Lanthorn then for Eating: Some Companys Came in

19 *Fryday* Fine weather Cap^t Warner and I Din'd wth Cap^t James Fryy we had Boild Lamb Pork & Veal Rost Lamb & Veal good wine good phlip & punch: at Night we Supped on a Stew of mutton & pork & wine To Drink: a Ship flag of Truce Saild for france with Captives

20 *Saturday* Cloudy Rainy &c Nothing Remarkable a Snow Flag of Truce Saild For France with Captives

21 *Sunday* Rainny: in y^e mor^e m^r Williams Preacht att y^e Chappel att y^e Barracks from John 20: 31 in the forenoon & y^e Old England Chu^a People met att y^e Chappel Att y^e Hospital in y^e afternoone the old England Church minister preacht from 116 Ps: 12 att y^e Chappel by the Barracks a Vessel Came in with women & Children from N Eng^d

22^d *Monday* fair weather I went into y^e Citty To Take an Acc^t of the men y^e worked in Col^o Willards Reg^t at Carrying wood & Took wth me out of our Comp^y Jn^o Rand Jn^o Wright W^m Tho^s John Peirce Gideon Sanderson Eph^m Proctor Aaron Boynton y^e worked y^e whole Day²

att night Rec^d Orders To Send a Corp^l & 5 men To go on board y^e man of war Occasioned by a Large Saild Lying off y^e mouth of y^e Harb^t: Supposed To be an East Indeaman or a man of war this Day Cop^l Benj^s Randal Died & was Buryed.: we Sent Cop^l Lakin & 5 more but they Came on y^e Parade to Late

23 *Tuesday* Two men of war went out against y^e Ship & gave her a Broad Side & Several Bow Chased and Took her:

24th *Wensday* I went To Oversee the men Carrying wood att y^e Kings Gate: in y^e afternoone the men of war Came in with y^e Prize Taken Yesterday She is a Vessel of about 700 Tun an East India man Judged To be worth One million & $\frac{1}{2}$ money: y^e Cap^t & I & Sev^l more moved into y^e Citty

25 *Thursday* fine weather Took an Inventory of y^e Effects of Cop^l Randal & Oliver Green: I went to y^e Co^mmissarys & Took 3

¹ It may be inferred that Lieutenant Bradstreet was the regimental commissary; and the wine served out to the men at this time undoubtedly was loot taken from the enemy. His allusion to the leanness of the mutton is interesting.

² John Pierce, Gideon Sanderson, and Aaron Boynton are known to have been Groton soldiers, and perhaps also some of the others were. Sanderson died on November 13, and Boynton on December 24.

gall^{ms} of Brandy & Dealt out 3 Days allowance: Three Gallons of Molasses To y^e Three messes in the Suburbs: Three Days allowance of meat To y^e mess^e in y^e Suburbs

26 *Fryday* fine weather Last night Came in Cap^t Wetherbe & his Comp^t. with Part of Cap^t Davis's Compan^y. This Day I Rec^d a Letter from my wife which was pleasing &c went a Strawberrying

27 *Saturday* Rainny &c

28 *Sunday* fine weather in y^e forenoone the C^h min^t Preacht from Rom: 12: 18 in y^e afternoone m^r Williams Preacht from prov: 20: 27 in the morning a Large Ship Came in Sight Supposed to be an East India man: and Two of our men of war went out after her

29th *Monday* a Gen^l Muster and in y^e afternoone arose a Great Disturbance betweene y^e men of wars men & our men which was Exceeding hot in y^e afternoone y^e men of war y^t went out Yesterday Came in with y^e Ship they went after She is a Rich Prize an french East India man

30th *Tuesday* Rainy Last night Came in 250 Sould^rs from N Hampshire: we had a pint of wine allowed To each man To Drink y^e Kings health Serg^t Woods Took y^e Stewardship¹ I Din'd wth Cap^t Frie

31 *Wensday* foggy Cloudy weath^r Serg^t Woods has not Chang'd Guns this Two Dayes a thing verry Remarkable:

August 1st 1745. in y^e morning Col^o Willard Sent for me & Ord^d me to Oversee his Reg^t y^t worked in Repairing y^e Citty walls: accordingly I went 14 of y^e Reg^t work'd

2 *Fryday* fine weather I went To Oversee y^e People Clearing the Store yard: A Large Ship Came in Sight Our men of war went out & Took her She is a french South Sea man a Rich Prize has been out Three years

3 *Saturday* I went To Oversee y^e workmen Ten men Bury'd this Day 4 in Arms: I wrote home

4th *Sunday* M^r Williams² of Longmeadow Preacht in y^e forenoone at y^e Hospital Chappel from 55 Is: & 6th a Seasonable Lively affectionate Sermon In y^e afternoone M^r Williams of Newhaven preacht from Dut: 32: 29 One man Bury'd after meeting Several Small Vessels Came in

5th Cloudy foggy &c: I went To Overseeing &c

6th *Tuesday* An Exceeding Rainny Day One Hubbard Died y^t Liv'd with part of our Company out of y^e Citty

7th *Wensday* a Rainny Day Last night about 12 O' y^e Clock Died

¹ Sergeant Woods was probably a Groton soldier; and without doubt the stewardship included the duties of a commissary-sergeant.

² Stephen Williams (H. C. 1713), first minister of Longmeadow, where he died on June 10, 1782, aged 89 years.

in the Hospital Isaac Kent he Lay but a few Dayes Sick about 6 in y^e afternoone we Bury'd him a man Rid y^e wooden Horse on y^e Parade

8th *Thursday* fine weather I overseed the workmen Cleaning the Kings Bake House Last night the wooden horse Torn in peices

9th Cold weather. I went To Oversee Last night Stephen Barron Imbarked &c

10th *Saturday* a Cold Day a Gen^l muster fird Plattoones: y^e martial Laws Read att y^e head of every Reg^t a Souldier whipt 39 Lashes for Robbing a Dead Corpse & Leaving y^e Body u[n]buried

11 *Sunday* Cold Cloudy weather Last Fryday a Scooner was going after wood with about 30 men & by a mischance as they was going out of the Harbour near y^e Light house Run upon y^e Rocks and Split y^e men Lost their guns Cloaths &c But y^e Boates Hastned out & Sav'd all y^e men in y^e forenoone y^e Rev^d M^r Williams of Longmeadow preach't at y^e Hospital Chappel from Luk: IX 62 Sung y^e 3 part of y^e 50 Ps: in y^e afternoone M^r Williams¹ of Newhaven Prea' from Dut 32 29: a Stormy Day Wind at NE.

Monday Aug: 12th Stormay Day This is y^e 4th Day y^e wind has Blowd Strong & Cold at NE I Took 3£ 7 Sterling in pei^{ce} 8 & Pistareens of y^e Brgadeer To pay y^e workmen for On Loading of wood:

13 *Tuesday* I went To Overseeing Serg^t David Barker Died this Day One Briant Sentenced To have 5 Lashes on his naked Back 3 Dayes Running

14 *Wensday* fine weather I went To Overseeing four men Buryed this Day One whipt 5 Lashes for Prophane Swearing &c & Drawing Sword and threatning a man

15 *Thursday* fine weather I went To Overseeing the man that was whipt yesterday whipt again To Day five Lashes and is To have five more To morrow: one man whipt 21 Lashes at the whipping post on the Parade for Strikeing his Superiour officer. John Phillips washd and Shirted himself O mavevellous

16 *Fryday* Pleasent weather I went To Overseeing his Excellency Gov^r Shirly his Mad^m y^e Commadores mad^m with Divers other Gent^{le}

17th *Saturday* Fine weather the Gov^r Came on Shore a Gen^l Muster The whole army was mustered & Placed in the most Genteel manner To Receive the Gov^r the Gen^l walk't foremost the Governors Lady at his Right Then his Excellency &c The men Stood on Each Side with their arms Rested from y^e Gate By y^e Comodores To y^e Barracks att y^e Gover^r Landing y^e Cannon fir'd from y^e Batterys & from y^e men of war: when the Battallian was Dis-mitted there was firing with Small arms for Two Hours His Excel-

¹ Elisha Williams (H. C. 1711), who had been President of Yale College.

lency's arrival was verry Rejoycing To us all : he Brought with him Several of his Children I Overseed y^e workmen

18 *Sunday* Rainny weather Last night Died W^m Thomas about 10 of y^e Clock Buryed after Meeting : in y^e afternoone m^r Williams preacht from 1 Cor : 2 : 2 : his Excellency was at meeting Cap^t Tyng Came in with Two Companys of men Col^o Berry Came with him

19 *monday* Rainny weather John Dakin Died a man Rid y^e wooden Horse with 2 muskets at his heeles

20 Fine weather I went To Overseeing

21 Fine weather I went To Overseeing Serg^t Joseph Woods Died His Excellency went To y^e Grand Battery They Saluted him by firing

22^d fine weather I went To Overseeing Several Lay Dead in y^e Hospital and Thro' a mistake another Company Buryed Serg^t Woods in y^e Stead of their owne man : & we Buryed their man his Excellency went to y^e Island Battery he was Salluted by firing

23 Went To Overseeing We Bought 1 Quarter of Beef Exceeding good

24 Fine weather I went To Overseeing A Gen^l muster his Excell^y Veind us his Speeches made in y^e Court at home Relateing To y^e Prosperity of y^e army Read his Excellency gave y^e army 2 hogs^d Rum To Drink the Kings health

25th *Sunday* Rained Exceeding hard

26th *Monday* I went To Overseeing

27th *Tuesday* : I went To Overseeing

28 *Wensday* I went To Overseeing

29 *Thursday* I went To Overseeing Cap^t Warner Taken Sick

30th *Fryday* I went To Overseeing I wrote home [¶] Col^o Berry Sent Two Three Pistareene p^{cs} To my wife

31 *Saturday* I went To Overseeing

Sep^r 1st 1745 a Rainny Day Two Privateers went out after a Ship that was Discoverred and Lookt upon to be a french Ship

2^d *monday* Last night between 8 & 9 o' y^e Clock Died Jon^s Lakin in y^e Hospital I Closed his Eyes Before night Buryed Jon^s Lakin

3^d Cap^t Richardson Brought in a French Ship he had Taken & Brought news of Several French men of war that was in y^e offal Six of our men went on Board the Sloop Union Cap^t mayhew Commander

4 *Wendsday* Fine weather Goold¹ Died Cap^t Warner Exceeding Bad:

5 *Thursday* fine weather

1 Probably a Groton soldier, and perhaps the same as Benjamin Gould, a corporal in Captain Smith's company, Ninth Massachusetts Regiment, mentioned in "The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register" (XXV. 266) for July, 1871.

6th *Fryday* about 8 in y^e morning Died Cap^t Warner The Lord Sanctify his holy hand att 5 O'the Clock we Buryed him with a Great Deal of honour & Respect a Part of all or Cheif of y^e Com^d in y^e Regiment attended y^e funer! Under arms the Souldiers warlk foremost with their arm in funeral Posture next y^e Drummers next y^e Cap^{tn} next y^e Corp[se.] Behind walkt y^e General Col^o Willard at his Left hand next all the Col^{ls}

I was Taken Sick y^e night after y^e Cap^t Died & have not kept any Journal To this Day

Thursday Nov: y^e 14th Last night Died Gideon Sanderson: in y^e afternoon we Bury'd him

Fryday 15 Rain'd & Snow'd Some:

Saturday 16 in y^e morning Snow'd Some

Sunday 17 fine weather the Rev^d m^r Williams Preacht out of Canticles from those words I Sleep but my heart waketh it is y^e Voice of my Belov^d &c in y^e afternoon from Esther IV four Last verses

Monday 18 Sev^l Vessels from Boston

19 *Tuesday* Nothing Remarkable

20 *Wensday* a Vessel from Boston with Several women

21 *Thursday:*

22 *Fryday*

23 *Saturday* I went into the Burying yard & there Beheld a Malencholly Sight: Hundreds of new Graves

24th *Sunday* m^r Newmon¹ Preacht in y^e forenoone from those words Acquaint now thy Self with him & be at peace thereby shall good Come unto thee

in y^e afternoone m^r Fareweather preacht from those words O that they were wise y^t y^t understood this that y^t would Consid^r y^t Latter end

25th *monday* Sev^l Vessels Came in from New England

26th *Tuesday* Sev^l Vessels Came in from N: England Sev^l famly's Benj^a Stearns Drunk in y^e Royal Hospital

27 *Wensday* Verry Cold Some Snow Sent Benj^a Stearns und^r y^e main Gaurd: Last night y^e Cap^{tn} moved To Live with me: a general Muster Governour Shirly Embarkt for N: England I headed the Company

28 Died Corp^t Jn^o Crooffoot

29 *fryday* Bury'd Peter Carley & Jn^o Crooffoot in One Grave

30 *Saturday* nothing Remarkable

Dec: 1 Sunday m^r Newmon Preacht from those words in Job Acquaint now thy Self with him &c

In y^e afternoone from those words in Prov: fooles make a mock at Sin

¹ John Newman (H. C. 1740), born at Gloucester, on March 14, 1716, and ordained at Edgartown in 1748, where he died on December 1, 1763.

2^d *monday* Last night John Green Died in y^e Royal Hospital 4 of our men went a Hunting Yesterday the Gen^l told Cap^t Hubbard their was 5 or 6 Thousand french and Indians Comeing upon us :

3^d *Tuesday* I was Tak'n Exceeding ill on y^e Rampers

4th *wensday* a Snow about an inch Deep Severall Vessels Came in

5th *Thursday* Some Snow

6th *Fryday* in y^e morning all y^e Co^mmission Officers were Orderd to meet at y^e Admirals accordingly we met and y^e Admiral made a Speech and Exhorted us To many things Especially To Suppress all Vice & Imorallity and See that all the men under us keep a good Look out for he Inform'd us That y^e Canadeens were in a Great Stir : after y^e Admiral had finished a Long Speech y^e Gen^l made a Short One and then we Drank Every man a Glass of wine But Before I went there I sent for Sam^l Shead¹ & he Told me he had bin at Groton & Saw my wife at m^r Sheples² and She was well and my whole family was well which was Rejoycing news To me : But Imēdiately I went To Cap^t Smiths I had no Sooner Entred the Room But he Told me he had Verry Bad news for me I asked what it was he Show'd me a Letter which Come to One of his men which an Acc^t of y^e Death of my Eldest Daughter O fatal news pray God Sanctify his holy hand

7th *Saturday* Nothing Strange

8th *Sunday* Nothing new

9th *monday* Sev^l Vessels Came in from N England

10th *Tuesday* Securd our Coal

11 *Wensday* I wrote home

12 John Wright Died Nath^l Smith³ & Mathew Wyman were put under y^e Grand gaurd for attempting to Cut Pickits

13th *Fryday* I got a Pardon for Smith & Wyman that was Co^mmitted yesterday in y^e afternoon Buryed Wright :

14th *Saturday* an Exceeding Rainny Day Joseph Trumbel Died

15th *Sunday* Last night Died in the Royal Hospital Jn^o Ramsdell : allso Jon^a Fletcher of Groton : The Rev^d m^r Preached in y^e afternoone from Dut : 30-19 a Proclamation for a Fast Read the fast to be on Wensday y^e 18th Curr^t

16th *monday* Bury'd Jn^o Ramsd^l

17th *Tuesday* Last night Came a Snow about 4 Inches Deep winter Like weather :

18th *wensday* fast Day

19th I went to Cap^t Smiths To make an Aprizal of y^e Effects that Jn^o Green & Jon^a Fletcher Died Seiz'd off in y^e Afternoone Died in

¹ A Groton soldier.

² This may have been John Sheple, whose brother Jonathan married Lydia Lakin, a kinswoman and perhaps a sister of Lieutenant Bradstreet's wife.

³ Nathaniel Smith was a Groton soldier, and presumably Mathew Wyman also.

y^e Royal Hospital Serg^t Jn^o Stratton : made an Inventory of y^e Effects off Jn^o Croffoot Jn^o McClemtuc Peter Carley Jn^o Wright Gideon Sanderson & Joseph Trumbel & Jn^o Ramsdell

20th *Fryday* Ten men of our Comp^y inlisted to go a wooding

21 *Saturday* Last night Came a Snow about Two Inches: M^r Speer y^e Chaplain of y^e Island Battery was Buried

22^d *Sunday* the Rev^d m^r Newmon Preacht from Luk 2: 10: 11:

23^d *Monday* Last night Died in y^e Royal Hospital Jon^a Shead¹ of Groton : a Verry Stormy night of Snow

24th Died in y^e Royal Hospital Aaron Boynton :

25th *Chirstmas* Died in the Royal Hospital Serg^t W^m Holdin² in y^e after noone Buried Aaron Boynton

26 *Thursday* I Din'd at m^r Crafts paid nine Shillings for my Dinner &c Two of our men ord^d in y^e Hospital ¶ Gen:

27th *Fryday* Dind at Crafts p^d 8 Shillings for my Dinner Phinehas Parker² Died

28th *Saturday* Din'd at L^t Fries a verry Cold Day

29th *Sunday* the Rev^d m^r Bacchus³ Preacht from Deut: 30: & 19th

30th *monday* Died in y^e Royal Hospital George Norcross

31 *Tuesday* I mounted gaurd at y^e Cittydal: a Stormy Snowy Day & Exceeding Cold

Jan^a first Wensday an Exceeding Cold Day and verry Boistorous much Damage acrew'd to y^e Shipping in y^e harbour Last night by Reason of y^e Storm allso many windows in y^e Citty Dstroy'd by y^e wind

2^d *Thursday* nothing Remarkable

3^d *Fryday* Cold Died in y^e Royal Hospital Rowland Blackmir & Jacob Proctor

3^d made an aprizal of y^e Effects of Serg^t Stratton George Norcross & Aaron Boynton

4th *Saturday* I went To Cap^t Hubbards to make an apprizal of y^e Effects of Seven Dead men about Sun Set Bury'd Rowland Blackmir & Jacob Proctor in one grave Eighteen Bury'd this Day

5th *Sunday* Cloudy Snowy misty weath^r M^r Newman Preacht from Genesis 19 Chap 15 16 & 17 verses

6 *monday* pleasent weathe^r Last night Came in a man and Informs

¹ Jonathan Shead (or Shedd) was a kinsman of Samuel Shead, who brought news from home concerning Lieutenant Bradstreet's family, as mentioned on the preceding page.

² Without doubt William Holden and Phinehas Parker were Groton soldiers. According to "The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register" (XXV. 266) for July, 1871, Holden was a sergeant, and Parker a corporal, in Captain Smith's company, Ninth Massachusetts Regiment.

³ Simon Backus (Y. C. 1724), minister of Newington, Connecticut. During the winter after his arrival at Louisburg, he fell a victim to the prevailing sickness of the army, and died on February 2, 1745-6, aged 45 years.

us that he was on his passage from London to this place and was Cast away Last fryday was Seven nights at Scattaree about Four Leagues to Eastward of Louisbourg & all the men Lost Save five which were washt on Shoar on the Quart^r Deck and Three Days before Christmas they Parted with Sev^l Sail Bound for this place this Day a Comp^r of men Sent To the Rack [wreck]:

7 *Tuesday* One Returnd that went yesterday To the Rack and Informs [] that they had found Two men [] French house verry much froz and the other Two it is thot are dead they Found at y^e Rack many []les of Broad Cloaths and Silks [] other English goods there was []teen Drownd This Day I [mou]nted gaurd

[8 *Wed]nsday* Exceeding Cold and Slippery

[9] *Thursday* Nothing Remarkable

[10] *Fryday* I Bought a pig that weigh'd an 100 lb which Cost me Ten Dollars which is 50 / Sterling

[11]th *Saturday* not any Thing Remarkable

12th *Sunday* a Verry Cold Day

13th *monday* I mounted Gaurd

14 *Tuesday* I attended y^e Court martial for y^e Tryal of He[] Burchwood a private Centinel for Refusing to go on Duty when Ordered we Ordered the Prisoner Receive Ten L[ashes] on his Bare Back at the whipping post on y^e Publick pl[ace] in Louisbourg

15 *wensday* the man whip[ped] that was Tryed yesterd[ay]

16th *Thursday* Cold weath[er]

[17]th *Fryday* Died in y^e tow[u] Johnson []

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said that in looking over the Pepperell Papers belonging to the Society he had found a letter addressed by Barlow Trecothick and twenty-eight other merchants of London to their American correspondents, which was of interest in connection with the remarks made by Judge Chamberlain at the April meeting and by Mr. Goodell at the May meeting, and which he would now communicate for publication in the Proceedings.

LONDON, Feby 28th, 1766.

GENTLEMEN, — After much anxiety we have at length the pleasure to acquaint you that a bill is now in the House of Commons for repealing the Stamp Act; it was read the second time yesterday. We also look forward to some beneficial regulations and extension of the trade of America, which we hope may be obtained in the course of this session of Parliament, during which the most serious attention and application shall take place on our part to every point which may tend to the general good.

Permit us now, gent^s, to lay before you our sentiments on the present state of affairs, to submit them to your good judgment, and to request that so far as they agree with it, you will be pleased to inculcate the propriety of the conduct we recommend.

It has been a constant argument against the repeal, that in case it should take place, the parliamentary vote of Right will be waste paper, and that the Colonies will understand very well that what is pretended to be adopted on mere commercial principles of expedience is really yielded thro' fear, and amounts to a tacit but effectual surrender of its Right, or at least a tacit compact that it will never use it.

In this line of argument every debate and every question from Opposition has run; how material, how necessary, therefore, is it, that the event should not support, or even seem to support, those arguments.

The event will justify those arguments in the strongest manner if the Colonies should triumph on the repeal, and affect to seize the yielding of Parliament as a point gain'd over parliamentary authority. The Opposition (from whom the Colonies have suffered so much) would then throw in the teeth of our friends, *See your work, it is as we said, it is but too well prov'd, what use the Colonies make of your weak and timid measures.*

On the contrary, if duty, submission, and gratitude be the returns made by the Colonies, then our friends may exult, they may say, *We are in the right, is it not as we said? see the Colonies regained to this country by our moderation, regained with their loyalty, their affection, and their trade.*

It is needless to say how extremely preferable the latter supposition is to the first, how much more desirable for this country and for the Colonies.

You must be sensible what friends the Colonies have had in the present Ministry,¹ and are doubtless informed what pains they have taken to serve them. It is justice likewise to them to inform you that they have had great difficulties to encounter in the cause, the principal of which were unhappily thrown in by the Colonies themselves; we mean the intemperate proceedings of various ranks of people on your side of the water, and the difficulties of the repeal would have been much less, if they had not by their violence in word and action awakened the honour of Parliament, and thereby involved every friend of the repeal in the imputation of betraying the dignity of Parliament. This is so true that the act could certainly not have been repealed had not men's minds been in some measure satisfied with the declaration of Right. If, therefore, you would make the proper returns to your country, if you have a mind to do credit to your friends, and strengthen the

¹ The first ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham succeeded that of George Grenville in July, 1765. — Eds.

hands of your advocates, hasten, we beseech you, to express filial duty and gratitude to your parent country. Then will those who have been (and while they have the power we doubt not will be) your friends plume themselves on the restoration of peace to the Colonies, union, trade, and reciprocal advantages to them and to us. But if violent measures are continued and triumphs on the point gain'd; if it is talked of as a victory; if it is said the Parliament have yielded up the Right; then indeed your enemies here will have a compleat triumph; your friends must certainly lose all power to serve you; your tax masters probably be restored and such a train of ill consequences follow as are easier for you to imagine than for us to describe,—at least such measures on your side will greatly tend to produce these effects. We have no doubt that you will adopt the contrary conduct, and inculcate it to the utmost of your influence, to which we sincerely wish the most extensive regard may be paid, and that uninterrupted mutual affection may continue between Great Britain and her Colonies to the latest ages. We are with unfeigned regard, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate friends, and humble serv^{ts},

GEO. HAYLEY.	BARLOW TRECOTHICK.
DANIEL VIALARS.	CAPEL HANBURY.
NICH ^s RAY.	DAVID BARCLAY, JUN ^r .
JOHN STRETTELL.	GILBERT FRANKLYN.
JOHN CLARK.	W ^m GREENWOOD.
JOHN BUCHANAN.	DAN ^l MILDRED.
JOHN STEWART.	W ^m NEATE.
ANTH ^y MERRY.	THO ^s LANE.
JON ^s BARNARD.	T. HARRIS.
CHRIS ^t CHAMBERS.	EDW ^d BRIDGEN.
CHA ^s CROKATT	RICH ^d NEAVE.
SAMUEL HANNAY.	GILB ^t HARRISON.
EDW ^d ATHAWES.	BROOK WATSON.
	GREGORY OLIVE
	DENNIS DE BERDT.
	CHA ^s OGILVIE.

† Duke of Cumberland, North American Packet.

On motion of Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN it was

Voted, That the stated meetings for July, August, and September be omitted, and that the President and Secretary be authorized to call a special meeting if occasion for one should arise.

Other remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. JUSTIN WINSOR, HORACE E. SCUDDER, and CHARLES C. SMITH.

A new serial number of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the February, March, April, and May meetings, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

SPECIAL MEETING, JULY, 1897.

A SPECIAL MEETING was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., at No. 73 Tremont Street, to hear the report of the Committee on the New Building, and to act upon it; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The PRESIDENT reported verbally, on behalf of the Joint Committee, to the effect that, under the votes of the Society, the whole matter of erecting the proposed new building upon the Fenway had been referred to the Committee in question, with instructions to cause plans to be prepared and estimates made, and, when completed, to report the same to the Society for its action.¹ The Committee had attended to that duty; the plans had been prepared and perfected by Messrs. Wheelwright and Haven, and were then upon the table open to the inspection of members of the Society. After careful consideration it had been decided to use for the exterior of the new building a combination of what is known as "spotted" brick with Indiana limestone, specimens of which were submitted. The Committee had received estimates of the cost of construction of so much of the proposed building as was required for the present needs of the Society, which came within the limit of \$120,000, the amount settled upon by the Committee as the extreme limit to which the Society would be justified at this time in going. The estimate included all the work of construction, as well as the commission of the architects.

The Committee, therefore, recommended that the plans submitted and upon the table should be approved; that the Committee as now composed should be continued; and that the plans and all papers should be referred back to the said Committee with authority to proceed in the work of construction.

In accordance with this recommendation, it was thereupon unanimously

Voted: That the Joint Committee on a New Building appointed at the Annual Meeting be continued in office; and that the report, plans, and estimates submitted by the President be approved, and referred back to said Committee with full authority to proceed in the work of construction.

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. x. pp. 299, 585.

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